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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS AND CHARTERS

OF ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

by



DONNA MILDRED GORDON

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and  
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance,  
a thesis entitled A TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS AND  
CHARTERS OF ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE  
submitted by DONNA MILDRED GORDON  
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Master of Arts.





H B R



FRONTISPIECE

1. Monogram of Eleanor of Aquitaine (see no. 1). After a drawing in the Collection de Dom Fonteneau, xxv.287v.
  
2. Seal of Eleanor of Aquitaine. After a drawing in Charles Métais, "Cartulaire saintongeais de La Trinité de Vendôme," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 22(1893), 24.



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## INTRODUCTION



The renewed interest in the publication of twelfth-century charters and letters in recent years has been one of the chief reasons for the topic of this thesis. The twelfth century is vitally important in the use and development of the document and many volumes have been devoted to the letters and charters of various famous historical figures of the period.<sup>1</sup> As far as could be ascertained, however, no previous attempt has been made to collect, edit, and translate the documents of Henry II's famous queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>2</sup> Although the number of biographies devoted to her life is impressive, there has been little attempt by the authors to use the material contained in the documents which survive. Nevertheless, enough are extant, either in the original or in printed collections, to form an important

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<sup>1</sup> The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, ed. Z. N. Brooke, (Dom) Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); (Dom) Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, Gilbert Foliot and His Letters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); T. A. M. Bishop, Scriptores regis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis, Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis ac Gaufridi et Henrici Ducum Normannorum, 1135-1154, Vol. 3 of Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

<sup>2</sup> H. G. Richardson, "The Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine," English Historical Review, 79(1959), 193: "Though nothing like a complete collection of Eleanor's surviving acta exists, a good many have been printed (more or less accurately) here and there. . . ."



source of Eleanor's life and to justify drawing some general conclusions.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor's documents may be divided into three classes: Letters, charters, and writs. Of the seventy-seven documents translated, seven are letters, fifty-six are charters and fourteen are writs.<sup>2</sup> The letters have a loosely structured format and are not witnessed; they inform the recipient concerning some matter or ask a favour. Most of Eleanor's documents are charters or writs. The charters are documents in which Eleanor granted lands or privileges or otherwise exercised her power in her capacity as suzerain. They include grants, confirmations of grants made by her predecessors or other members of her family or her subjects, charters of non-prejudice, charters restoring rights which had been usurped, and commands or "precepts" prohibiting interference by royal officials. The writs are rather more terse documents whose text usually begins with the word Precipio, and with a single witness, commonly a member of her own or the king's household.

The charter was displacing oral testimony as the "normal basis for a community's rights and privileges."<sup>3</sup> The form was still variable and experimental, and Eleanor's charters reflect the irregu-

<sup>1</sup> Richardson, EHR, 193, suggests this as a possibility, but he commented only on Eleanor's household.

<sup>2</sup> The letters are nos. 12, 24, 25, 40, 41, 42 and 73; the writs, nos. 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 35.

<sup>3</sup> Morey and Brooke, 133.



larities still inherent in the twelfth-century charter.<sup>1</sup> Her earliest charters are drawn up in the style of the continental diploma and the later ones in the form of an expanded writ with a general address, a brief text composed of stereotyped formulas, and usually a long list of witnesses, authenticated by a seal.<sup>2</sup>

Only in the earliest charters is there an invocatio, either in nomine Sancte et Individue Trinitatis (Amen) (nos. 1, 3, 5 and 6), or in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti (no. 8). No invocatio is used after 1154.

The intitulatio follows the invocatio, except of course in cases where the recipient outranked Eleanor, as in the papal correspondence (nos. 24, 40, 41 and 42), in the letter to Cardinal Hyacinth (no. 25), and in the letter to John (no. 73). In all other documents, Eleanor's name comes first. In nos. 1 to 8, the queen's name is preceded by ego, an archaic form which was rapidly discarded, since it contrasted poorly with the first person plural verb form used in the text of the charter.<sup>3</sup> Following Eleanor's name, which was spelled in an alarming variety of ways,<sup>4</sup> were her titles, regina Francorum or regina Anglorum et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie et comitissa Ande-

<sup>1</sup> Bishop, 11: ". . . in the twelfth century the general use of writing in legal and administrative affairs was still novel, and the composition of charters still generally irregular."

<sup>2</sup> Bishop, 2.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. Cheney, English Bishops' Chanceries 1100-1250 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950), 61-62.

<sup>4</sup> Helienordis, Alienordis, Elienora, Alianora, Alyenor, etc.



gavie. After the death of Henry II in 1189, she continued to use the titles of queen of England, duchess of Normandy and countess of Anjou. Variations occur in a few documents; for example, in a charter from the years of her marriage to Louis VII of France (1137-1152), she styled herself Francorum regina et Willelmi ducis Aquitanici filia (no. 2). Only once did she employ the title Pictavorum comitissa, and this style occurs in the period 1152-1154, after her divorce from Louis and before her new husband, Henry, became king of England (no. 7). From the years 1189 to 1197 comes an intitulatio which includes the title domina Hybernii (no. 34). And in 1189 she termed herself Dei gratia regina Anglie humilis Iesu Christi ancilla (no. 35).

The charters usually have an inscriptio addressed to the nobles, clerics, and royal officers of an area, and, like most charters from the middle of the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> include a general address, such as omnibus hominibus tam presentibus quam futuris (no. 3), universis quam presentibus tam futuris (no. 4), omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint (no. 34), omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerint (nos. 51 and 52), omnibus fidelibus per regnum Anglie constitutis (no. 39), or omnibus presentam cartam inspecturis vel audituris (no. 71).

In the majority of charters, the salutatio is simply salutem. Other greetings include: Salutem in Domino, salutem in nomine salutari, salutem in vero salutari, salutem et omne bonum, and salutem

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<sup>1</sup> Bishop, 2.



in salutis Auctore. The greetings used in letters are more elaborate: Debitum cum omni devotione famulatam (no. 24), misere matri exhibere se misericordie patrem (no. 41), and Dei benedictione cum sua (no. 73). On one occasion, in perpetuum is used in place of a salutatio (no. 72). None of the charters from the period when Eleanor was Louis' queen, however, bears a salutatio (nos. 1 to 4).

The body of a twelfth-century charter is usually short and direct; Eleanor's charters reflect this trend. Only five contain an arenga. Three are concerned with the need to preserve agreements by committing them to writing: Quoniam hominum memoria cito labitur, ne ob hoc inter posteros altercationis scrupulus oriatur (no. 5); ne oblivionis leto delatur, et ob hoc inter posteros altercationis scrupulus oriatur (no. 6); quicquid volumus esse stabile et firmum, ut stabilius et firmius sit, commendamus testimonio litterarum (no. 52). The other two are concerned with the preservation of grants previously given: Quoniam honori nostro condecens est nostre et etiam saluti est necessarium firmiter observare ea que condita sunt a venerabili principe Rege Henrico Secundo, domino meo, pro salute sua et suorum et a Rege Henrico Tertio et a Rege Ricardo Primo, filiis nostris, sunt concessa et cartis confirmata (no. 39); ad observationem horum quae a predecessoribus nostris locis religiosis pia sunt intentione collata, studium et omnem solicitudinem adhibere volumus et debemus (no. 62).

The promulgatio is generally sciatis or noverit universitas vestra quod, but variations include: Notum fac vobis, noverit igitur universitas vestra, notum fieri volumus, significo (quod), sciant,



and ad universitatis vestre noticiam volumus pervenire. No. 7 begins with the promulgatio, Sciant universi Sancte Matris Ecclesie filii tam presentes quam futuri quod . . ., and has no inscriptio.

In seventeen of the charters, a distinct narratio can be discerned,<sup>1</sup> giving the background to or reason for the charter, as for example in no. 6,

When I was queen with the king of the Franks, the king gave and conceded the wood of Sèvres with its appurtenances to the church of Saint Maxent in the hand of Peter, abbot of that church, and I gave and conceded the aforesaid wood. However, having been separated from the king by the judgment of the Church, I took back to myself the gift made. After the counsel of prudent men and the prayers of the aforesaid abbot, however, the gift which I had made at first half unwilling, I gave and conceded out of good will to the church. . . . Then, having been joined with Henry, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, . . . I performed the deed, gave the gift, and conceded the concession, the duke agreeing, wishing, and conceding.

or in no. 48,

After the death of our most cherished son King Richard, Ralph of Mauléon cam to us at Loudun, and asked us to restore to him the Talmundais with its appurtenances and La Rochelle, alleging that all the land of the Talmundais appertained to him by hereditary right, and he was prepared to prove this in our presence by his oath and that of one hundred of his men.

The majority of the charters, however, simply state the matter in a

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<sup>1</sup>Nos. 4, 6, 7, 37, 38, 39, 43, 47, 48, 49, 50, 62, 65, 66, 71, 72 and 74.



dispositio, beginning with the words, "we have given, conceded and confirmed by the present charter, . . ." Only a few of the charters include a corroboratio,<sup>1</sup> which defends the decision and declares its validity, as in no. 47,

Moreover, let it be known that we were at the death of our aforesaid son the king, who placed all his trust in us, after God, that we with maternal solicitude might to the best of our ability provide for the welfare of his soul in these things and in others. Therefore, we gave this alms henceforth to the church of Saint Mary of Turpenay, because our beloved Luke, abbot of Turpenay, was with us during the illness and funeral of our most cherished son the king, and worked on his funeral rites more than all the other monks.

and no. 49,

And this we will hold and order our posterity to hold, and similarly we order to be held by our men through all their obedientiaries. For we do not wish, in respect of the honour of that monastery that our great-grandfather gave to it and which our grandfather and father held, to infringe upon [it], but we wish and order to be conserved there that same liberty and immunity which they gave and held. . . .

The four charters of 1199 granting communes (nos. 54, 56, 57 and 63) contain the phrase, ut tam nostra quam sua propria iura melius defendere possint et magis integre custodire, explaining the reason for the establishment of the communes.

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<sup>1</sup>Nos. 43, 47, 48, 49, 54, 56, 57, 63 and 66.



Almost all of Eleanor's charters and writs include a list of witnesses of greatly varying status. Rarely were these documents witnessed by other royalty. One is witnessed by her sister, Aelith (or Petronilla), one by Queen Berengaria, wife of Richard I, and one by Eleanor's son John (later king of England). Two are witnessed by Joanna, Eleanor's third daughter by Henry. No. 8 lists as a witness "William, brother of Duke Henry"; since "Duke Henry" refers to Eleanor's husband, Henry, he must be Henry's younger brother, William of Anjou (d. 29 January 1169). Eleanor herself witnessed four documents (teste me ipsa), nos. 38, 71, 73 and 77.

Members of the clergy are frequent witnesses to Eleanor's charters. A cardinal, Peter of Capua, witnessed her gift to Luke, abbot of Turpenay (no. 47). Henry I, bishop of Saintes (1189-d.1210), witnessed eleven charters, and Maurice of Blazon, bishop of Poitiers (1198-d.1214), six. Abbots of various monasteries--usually those near Poitiers, such as Saint Maxent, Turpenay, Angles, Saint-Cyprian, Noaillé and La Trinité de Vendôme--also witnessed the queen's charters. Abbess Audeburg of Fontevrault witnessed a charter, as did her predecessor, Matilda. Lesser clergy, such as priors and archdeacons, also served as witnesses, as did minor clerics, deacons, canons, clerks, and chaplains.

Only a few of Eleanor's documents are witnessed by great nobles such as Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, John, count of Vendôme, Ralph, count of Agen, Robert Fitz-Pernel, earl of Leicester, Ralph, count of Vermandois, Reginald, earl of Cornwall, and William Marshal, earl



of Pembroke.<sup>1</sup> Members of the minor Poitevin nobility, however, often appear in the witness lists. One of the most frequent names is that of the queen's maternal uncle, Ralph of Faye.<sup>2</sup> Also among the witnesses are the viscounts of Thouars, Guy V and Amaury, who is also the subject of Eleanor's letter to John in 1200. The powerful and turbulent lords of Lusignan also appear in Eleanor's charters: Hugh IX "le Brun" (d.1219) witnessed a confirmation to the Templars in La Rochelle in 1199 and Geoffrey of Lusignan (d.1216) witnessed a grant to the abbey of Montierneuf made in the same year, both of them being in attendance upon the queen during her progress through Poitou after Richard's death.<sup>3</sup> The viscounts of Chatellerault--also Eleanor's relatives--appear as well: Hugh II (d. before 1176) witnessed three of her charters, his son William witnessed the grant to the church of Maillezais, and his grandson Hugh III (d.1203/4) witnessed her grant to Ralph of Mauleon. Melle and Lezay also provided witnesses: Simon of Lezay and William, who was provost of Poitiers, witnessed the grant to Montierneuf; Maingot of Melle, chief vassal of Ralph, count of Eu, witnessed two charters. The castellans of the area were not unrepresented: William of Mauzé witnessed the grant of a commune to Saintes;

<sup>1</sup> In 1171-1173, Audebert V, count of La Marche, witnessed one of Eleanor's grants; a few years later, he sold his county to Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> He is a witness sixteen times. In addition, a Ralph, brother of Hugh, viscount of Chatellerault, twice a witness, may be Ralph of Faye.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney Painter, "The Lords of Lusignan in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," Speculum, 32(1957), 43.



William Maingot, lord of Surgères, was twice a witness, as was Eblo of Mauléon, the castellan of Talmont.

A very large and important group of witnesses comes from Eleanor's household. The queen's uncle, Ralph of Faye, was usually in her entourage, as was Saldebreuil of Sanzay, her constable, who witnessed eight charters. Three men who were frequent witnesses during the queen's tour of Poitou after Richard's death were Peter Bertin, Laon Ogier, and Châlon of Rochefort. During that same year there were also several other knights in Eleanor's household who appear in her charters, Hamelin of Breuil, a "Capicerius" who may be the same person as Peter "Capicerius" and as "Capicerius" of Chauvigny; there was also her captain, Roger. The queen had several chaplains; the first to appear as a witness is Peter, who also served as her chancellor and who witnessed six documents. Other chaplains were Ralph and Joscelin, who witnessed five charters, as did Roger. Bartholomew witnessed one. Although the probability that she had a well-organized chancery is slim,<sup>1</sup> Eleanor was well supplied with clerks. Her chancellor, Matthew, witnessed three documents, and her other clerks, Peter, John, Jordan, Richard of "Gnowesale" (who may also be master Richard), Geoffrey of Chinon, Geoffrey, chancellor of the treasury, and Joseph, the scribe, occasionally witnessed her charters. Eleanor had three butlers who appear in the witness lists, William, Harvey (also the provost of Poitiers), and Ingelran or

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<sup>1</sup> See Richardson, EHR, 193-213.



Enguerrand. Other individuals, listed simply as "our servants" (servientibus nostris), also were witnesses, such as Geoffrey of Chauvigny, Geoffrey of Jaunay, John "Franco," and Walter of Maillé.

Members of the households of Eleanor's husbands also witnessed her charters. Cadurc, Louis VII's chancellor, witnessed Eleanor's grant to the abbey of Notre-Dame of Saintes. Henry II's justiciars, Richard de Luci and Robert, earl of Leicester, witnessed Eleanor's writs, and his stewards, Manasser Bisset and William Fitz-Aldelin, witnessed charters. Other members of Henry's household who appear in the queen's documents are Joscelin of Baillol, Ralph Niger, and Roger, his almoner. William Longchamp, Richard's justiciar and chancellor, witnessed Eleanor's gift to Bury Saint Edmunds, and Milo, his chaplain, a confirmation to Fontevrault.

Eleanor's charters were occasionally witnessed by local officials, such as the seneschal of Poitou (Robert of Montmirail, Robert of "Corneani," Peter Bertin and Geoffrey de la Celle), the seneschal of Anjou (Joscelin, Stephen, William des Roches and Robert of Thornham), the seneschal of Gascony (Martin Algeis and Brandin), and also the seneschal of La Flèche, Hugh. The provosts of La Rochelle, Sancho of Beaulieu, witnessed two documents, and the mayor, William of Montmirail, one.

In addition to the provision of witnesses, Eleanor also protected her charters by the inclusion of a sanctio. A sanctio could be a command to protect the charter's provisions, for example:

Rogamus itaque omnes prelatos universalis ecclesie ad quos littere



iste pervenerint, quatinus hoc privilegium suis muniant privilegiis,  
et si aliqua persona contra hoc statutum fecerit, eam cum omnibus  
factoribus suis, ex auctoritate Dei et sua, excommunicent (no. 3);  
et prohibeo ne quis super hoc eidem G. vel heredibus suis iniuriam  
vel contumeliam aliquam inde ferat (no. 27). A sanctio could also  
take the form of a conditional clause: Ita tamen ne liceat predicte  
ecclesie monachis expendere, neque ab ecclesia sua alienare calicem  
prenominatum (no. 38); verumptamen abbates et fratres, pro salute  
anime nostre . . . quolibet die, perpetuis temporibus, tres pauperes  
in refectario pascere tenebuntur, duas missas in remedio peccatorum  
nostrorum nichilominus celebrare (no. 71). The charters to communes  
have a sanctio which reserves certain rights: Salva fidelitate nostra  
et salvis iuribus et heredum nostrorum et iuribus Sancte Ecclesie  
(no. 54); salva tamen et retenta fidelitate nostra et iure nostro et  
heredum nostrorum; salvo eciam iure sancte et venerabilis ecclesie  
Beati Petri Xanctenensis et omnium aliarum ecclesiarum; salvis eciam  
iuribus episcopis Xanctenensis; retentisque et observatis eius pri-  
vilegiatis consuetudinibus ad dominium episcopatus et ecclesie liber-  
tatem pertinentibus, sicut consueverunt hactenus observari; salvo  
eciam iure Gaufridi Martelli et heredum suorum (no. 63). The sanctio  
could take the form of a threat or curse: Qui autem hoc scienter  
violaverit, ab omnipotenti Deo anathemate perpetuo se dampnandum in-  
remissibiliter noverit (no. 8); si quis vero regum, comitem, epis-  
coporum, iudicum hac aliarum personarum secularium hanc nostre dona-  
cionis et concessionis sive confirmationis cartam calumpniatus



fuerit vel perturbaverit, nisi emendando satisfecerit, iram Dei omnipotentis incurrat et in extremo examine ulcioni district subiaceat  
 (no. 49).

Eleanor did not usually make a scriptio; only two of her charters are signed. No. 1 has a monogram<sup>1</sup> and no. 8 reads: Quod ut ratum et inconcussum a posteris firmiter habeatur et teneatur, presentem cartulam signo sancte crucis fideliter munivi, et sigilli mei appositione inviolabiliter mansurum confirmavi, and ends, Signum + Alienordis ducisse. A third of the charters have a sigillatio,<sup>2</sup> indicating the attachment of the queen's seal to the document. The sigillatio usually reads: Et ut hec nostra donatio inconcussa permaneat in posterum, presentem cartam sigilli nostro appositione corroboravimus, or the equivalent. No. 26 reads: Et ex voluntate et mandato domini mei regis et Richardi filii mei, sigilli mei auctoritate communio et confirmo. And no. 48 indicates that her seal and the seal of Ralph of Mauléon, the beneficiary of the charter, had been appended.

Although Eleanor's seal was thus commonly attached to her documents, few have survived. Only a remnant of one seal remains in

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<sup>1</sup> See Frontispiece, p. iii-iv.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 26, 37, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 70, 74, 75 and 76. Writs were sealed as a matter of course; thus there may have been more seals than the documents indicate.



the Archives de France.<sup>1</sup> Métais has printed a drawing of an almost complete seal attached to Eleanor's charter to the priories of Vendôme (no. 8).<sup>2</sup> It is oval-shaped and bears a slender female form with a bird in the left hand. The legend reads: S'. ALIE . . . NORMANORUM. DUCISSA. ET. ANDEGAVIS. COMITISSA. The mutilated portion has space for approximately twenty-two letters; the legend thus may have read: S'. ALIENOR. REGINE. ANGL'. AQUITANIE. NORMANORUM. DUCISSA. ET. ANDEGAVIS. COMITISSA. Pernoud's photograph of the seal in the Archives de France, however, shows a globe topped with a cross in the queen's left hand. Public Record Office Duchy of Lancaster Records 42/149 shows a seal of Eleanor depicting a woman holding two sceptres; the reverse carries a heraldic device. The legend reads: ALIANORA DEI GRATIA REGINA ANGLIE ET DMA HIBERNIAE; (Rev.) ALIANORA DUCHISSA NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE COMITISSA ANDEGAVIE. John Horace Round lists a seal legend as: ALIENOR DEI GRACIA DUCISSE AQUITANORUM ET COMITISSA ANDEGAVORUM.<sup>3</sup> Obviously Eleanor had a number of seals.

The charters from the years of Eleanor's reign as queen of France are dated as to both place and time: Actum publice Lorriaco, millesimo centesimo XXXIX<sup>o</sup> anno Incarnationis Domini regni nostri

<sup>1</sup> See Regine Pernoud, Eleanor of Aquitaine, tr. Peter Wiles (London: Collins, 1967), illustration facing page 32.

<sup>2</sup> See Frontispiece, p. iii-iv.

<sup>3</sup> Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. 1: A.D. 918-1206, ed. John Horace Round (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899), 394.



III<sup>o</sup> (no. 1); actum Parisiis anno MCXLI ab Incarnatione Domini (no. 3). In the years of her marriage to Henry II (1152-1189), however, none is dated as to year, but only as to place; for example, apud Chinonem. After Richard's death in 1199, her charters are again more fully dated: Datum apud Fontem Ebraudis, .XXI. die Aprilis, anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLXXXIX, .XI. kalendarum Maii (no. 47). Only rarely were the names of the writers of the charters given in the datum. Bernard, her chancellor, is listed twice (nos. 5 and 6),<sup>1</sup> Henry of London once (no. 38), Roger, who was also her chaplain, five times (nos. 49, 52, 66, 67 and 76), and William of Saint Maxent, twice (nos. 51 and 70). The year is usually calculated ab anno Incarnatione Domini or ab anno Incarnatione Verbi, although no. 51 reads, anno gratie MCLXXX nono, and no. 71, sexta die Octobris, regni filii nostri Iohannis supradicti anno secundo. A few of the charters mention the day: .XXI. die Aprilis . . . VII. kalendas Iunii (no. 5); sesto kalendas Iunii (no. 6); tercio nonas Maii (no. 50); quarto die Iulii (no. 66). Two are dated after holy days: Crastino Vitalis martyris (no. 48); in crastino Inventionis Sancte Crucis (no. 49). No. 62 bears the inexplicable date, indictione I, epacta XXII, con- curente IIII. A few of the charters give regnal years or mention current office holders: Regni nostri III<sup>o</sup> (no. 1); Eugenio papa resi-

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<sup>1</sup> Richardson, EHR, 198, suggests that the "master Bernard" listed in no. 26 may be Eleanor's chancellor, but Alfred Richard, Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204 (2 vols.; Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1903), ii.170n3, suggested that this might be Bernard de Ventadour.



dente, Lodovico rege regnante, Gaufrido Burdegalensi archiepiscopo,  
Gisleberto Pictavensi episcopo (no. 6); residente Papa Innocentio  
Tertio, Mauricio existente Pictavensi episcopo (no. 50); anno regni  
regis Iohanni primo (no. 70); regnantibus Philippo rege Francorum,  
et Iohanne rege Anglie (no. 75).

The documents were issued over a period of sixty-five years, 1139 to 1204. Four are from 1137-1152, when Eleanor was the wife of Louis VII, twenty-nine are from the years of her marriage to Henry II (1152-1189), twelve are from the reign of her son Richard (1189-1199), and thirty-two are from the period immediately after Richard's death to 1204. No documents are extant from the years before her marriage (?1122-1137); the only documentary evidence of her existence is a cross after her name on a gift of her mother's to the abbey of Montierneuf in 1129.<sup>1</sup>

The first of the four documents from the period 1137-1152 is a gift of several mills and houses to the Templars in the famous port town of La Rochelle (no. 1). Eleanor also made two grants to the abbey of Notre-Dame of Saintes, where her aunt, Agnes of Barbizieux, was abbess; the first confirmed her father's gift of a mint (no. 2). The second grant (no. 3) was an unusual alienation of the rights of high justice, and was granted by Eleanor with the consent of her sister

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<sup>1</sup>Richard, Poitou, ii.18.



Aelith, and confirmed by Pope Innocent II on 11 February 1142.<sup>1</sup>

One of the witnesses to nos. 1 and 3 was Count Ralph of Vermandois, who in 1141 married Eleanor's sister after divorcing his first wife on the grounds of consanguinity. Unfortunately his first wife was the niece of Thibaut, count of Champagne, Louis' most powerful vassal. The outraged Thibaut and Louis made a series of assaults and counter-assaults on each other's lands, which eventually led to the burning of Vitry-en-Perthois by Louis in 1143; the church, where the people had taken refuge, caught fire, and over a thousand persons died. This incident had a deep effect on Louis, who soon announced his intention of going on a crusade. Prior to their departure for the Holy Land, Eleanor and Louis toured their domains in 1146; Eleanor's charter abolishing certain legal practices of the royal officers concerning the men of the abbey of La Trinité de Vendôme, was granted during the tour (no. 4).

In the period immediately after her divorce from Louis in 1152 and her subsequent marriage to Henry, count of Anjou, three documents were issued by Eleanor. No. 5 was a general confirmation of the gifts of her father and grandfather to the abbey of Montierneuf, given 26 May 1152. No. 6, given the following day, is of special interest, for Eleanor refers specifically to her divorce from Louis

<sup>1</sup> These rights were also granted by Louis and were later confirmed by Henry (Pierre Théodore Grasillier, Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes, Vol. 2 of Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1871), 35-36, 37).



and her marriage to Henry:

When I was queen with the king of the Franks, the king gave and conceded the wood of Sèvres with its appurtenances to the church of Saint Maxent in the hand of Peter, abbot of that church, and I gave and conceded the aforesaid wood. However, having been separated from the king by the judgment of the Church, I took back to myself the gift made. . . . Having been joined with Henry, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, . . . I performed the deed, gave the gift, and conceded the concession, the duke agreeing, wishing, and conceding.

In another charter given a few days later, she was even more specific (no. 7):

After I was separated from my lord Louis, that is to say, the most serene king of the Franks, for reasons of consanguinity (*causa parentele*), and joined in matrimony to my lord Henry, most noble count of Anjou. . . .

The datum of the same charter is given as: Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLII<sup>o</sup>, regnante Lodovico rege Francorum, . . . et Henrico Pictavorum and Andegavorum imperium gubernante. This was a direct slap at Louis, since Poitou (Pictavorum) was part of Aquitaine. But Louis did not cease to use the title of duke of Aquitaine in his charters until August of 1154.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor soon became deeply involved in the government of Henry's domains, acting as regent in England in Henry's absence<sup>2</sup> or governing

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<sup>1</sup> Richard, Poitou, ii.117.

<sup>2</sup> See Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F. Maurice Powicke (London:



Normandy or Aquitaine while he travelled in his island realm. Her activities are evident from the large number of writs which she issued, and their tone makes it clear that she had a great deal of authority.<sup>1</sup> Eleanor's writs were usually inscribed per breve regis de ultra mare; however, as Barnes has pointed out,

it has been said that Eleanor's position was closely circumscribed, but this is less than justice. Much of any king's business was routine, and in Henry's absence it was conducted in Eleanor's name, not his. Moreover she was at hand if trouble arose.<sup>2</sup>

Richardson notes that Eleanor was "the last queen consort in whose name writs of this kind were issued," and that later this authority devolved upon the justiciar.<sup>3</sup> The queen, moreover, does appear to have treated royal officials as her own. Even Francis West, who maintains that Eleanor's authority "waited upon the king's will,"

Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1961), 32, for a list of Henry's absences from England.

<sup>1</sup> For example: "And my lord the king and myself are much displeased that you do not obey his writ and that you do not permit them to have peace; and if you are unwilling to do it, the justice of the king will make you do it" (no. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Patricia M. Barnes, "The Anstey Case," A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton, ed. Patricia M. Barnes and C. F. Slade (London: J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1962), 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas Term of the First Year of the Reign of King John (1199-1200), ed. H. G. Richardson (Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, new series, 21; London: J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1943), lxxvi.



mentions a writ in which she referred to "Walter, my sheriff" (italics mine).<sup>1</sup> Whatever the case, the queen's writs per breve regis de ultra mare are distinct from the charters she issued concerning her own property or areas of jurisdiction during the period 1152-1189.

In 1153-1154, Eleanor noted in a charter abolishing the duty of procuration for three priories of the Saintonge (no. 8) that she was requesting their prayers for her "most beloved husband Duke Henry, and to the honour and support of the safety of the latter and of my son William," prayers which were to no avail, for the chroniclers mention the death of her first-born son in 1156, about the time she gave birth to a daughter, Matilda.

In the following years she wrote a letter concerning the monks of Reading (no. 12),<sup>2</sup> granted a quitclaim on personal purchases to the abbey of Fontmorigny (no. 14), and attested an agreement between one Gervais, treasurer of Saint Hilary in Poitiers, and its chapter (no. 17). In 1163 she wrote two letters concerning the abbot of Saint Maxent, Peter Raymond (1134-c1164), one to Pope Alexander III (no. 24) and one to Cardinal Hyacinth Bobo, who later became Pope Celestine III (1191-1198) and whose coronation Eleanor witnessed (no. 25).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Francis J. West, The Justiciarship in England, 1066-1232 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 32.

<sup>2</sup> Richardson, EHR, 195, classes it as a letter, not a writ.

<sup>3</sup> The three famous letters concerning Richard's capture and imprisonment by the Emperor Henry VI in 1193 are addressed to this pope (nos. 40, 41 and 42).



In 1168 Henry delegated Earl Patrick of Salisbury to help Eleanor in the governing of Aquitaine. During Easter Week of 1168, the Lusignans, a violent and unscrupulous family of the Poitevin nobility, ambushed the queen's party and killed the earl; Eleanor managed to escape to Poitiers. Some time later, she granted the customs of the court of Benassai to the church of Saint Hilary, requesting that

for this liberty and custom conceded by us,  
the canons of the church of Saint Hilary will  
solemnly celebrate each year our anniversary,  
after our death; similarly, they will cele-  
brate the anniversary of the Earl Patrick  
[no. 26].

She sealed the grant "by the wish and demand of my lord the king [Henry] and my son Richard."

This was the first of several charters which provide evidence of Richard's association with Eleanor in the government of Aquitaine. Eleanor's favourite son was invested as duke of Aquitaine in 1169 and ruled jointly with his mother until 1173, when he joined his brothers in a revolt instigated by Eleanor against Henry II. The texts of five of Eleanor's charters from this period include Richard as co-donor (nos. 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32), while two do not (nos. 27 and 29). The intitulatio of the charters, however, never includes Richard. These charters were all concerned with grants to persons or religious foundations in Eleanor's duchy. One is a grant of freedom from customs and tolls to a rich merchant, Geoffrey Berland (no. 27).



In a grant to Saint Aignan (no. 28), Eleanor specifically forbade her uncle, Ralph of Faye, the seneschal of the area, to make any exactations or continue any unjust customs at Saint Aignan. Eleanor also made two grants to Fontevrault (nos. 29 and 32), one to La Merci-Dieu (no. 30), and one to Maillezais (no. 31).

After the unsuccessful revolt of her sons against their father--a revolt in which Eleanor was implicated--Henry took Eleanor to England and kept her in varying degrees of seclusion. No documents are extant for this period, and it is likely that she did not issue any.

In 1185, Henry freed Eleanor from her restricted life in England and allowed her to return to Aquitaine to rule. Her gift to Fontevrault of one hundred pounds (no. 33), granted with the assent of Henry and her sons Richard, Geoffrey and John, must belong to this period, for the absence of the young king Henry's name would place the charter after 1183, while the inclusion of Geoffrey would place it before 1186, when he was killed in a tournament in Paris. However, Henry quickly recalled Eleanor to England and kept her under surveillance once more.

Upon Henry's death in 1189, Eleanor once more assumed a position of authority while Richard prepared to go crusading. In the next few years she granted a charter in favour of Richard's justiciar, William Longchamp (no. 34), confirmed Richard's grant to Waltham (no. 35), and confirmed gifts and liberties to the archbishops of Bordeaux (no. 36).



In 1193 the news reached England that Richard, the hero of the Third Crusade, was the captive of the Emperor Henry VI (1190-1197). Eleanor's documents are now concerned with the problems arising from this situation. The threat of an invasion by Philip Augustus of France during Richard's absence is given credence by Eleanor's charter of non-prejudice to the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, stating that the help which their men had given in fortifying Canterbury was done at the queen's request and is not to be regarded as a customary duty (no. 37). Eleanor also played a major role in the collection of the ransom, one aspect of which is indicated by her charter to Bury Saint Edmunds (no. 38), returning a gold chalice which Abbot Sampson had offered as the abbey's share toward the ransom. Jocelin of Brakelond noted the transaction in his chronicle:

On another occasion when the treasure of our church was carried to London for the ransom of King Richard, the said Queen [Eleanor] redeemed the same cup for a hundred marks and sent it back to us, receiving a charter from us in token of our promise on the word of truth, that we would never alienate that cup from our Church under any circumstances whatsoever.<sup>1</sup>

From the same year, 1193, come the three letters supposedly sent to Pope Celestine III on behalf of Richard and composed for Eleanor by Peter of Blois. Lees has discussed the authenticity of these

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<sup>1</sup>The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, ed. H. E. Butler (London: Nelson, 1949), 46-47.



documents, following a suggestion by Charles Bémont that the letters are merely rhetorical studies.<sup>1</sup> In her argument Lees maintains that Peter's authorship was suspect on historical grounds and states inter alia that he did not witness any of Eleanor's extant charters.<sup>2</sup> In fact, Peter witnessed two of them, a charter of non-prejudice to Walter of Ghent, abbot of Waltham (no. 43), and the charter to the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury (no. 37). Lees also pointed out that the style of address in the first letter, Alienor, in ira Dei regina Anglorum, rather than being a touching show of emotion, is diplomatically suspect.<sup>3</sup> It is also curious that Eleanor's titles of "queen of England, duchess of Normandy, and countess of Anjou," are used but that "duchess of Aquitaine" is not included. The conclusion reached by Lees that the literary, diplomatic, and historical qualities of the letters seem to show that they were rhetorical models, is probably correct.

Also from Richard's reign come two documents which are evidence of the payment of queen's gold to Eleanor (nos. 43 and 44). There is no earlier evidence of this form of payment,<sup>4</sup> which was a gift of one gold mark to the queen for every hundred silver marks the king received in fines and reliefs. Eleanor had received queen's gold in

<sup>1</sup> Beatrice Adelaide Lees, "The Letters of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine to Pope Celestine III," English Historical Review, 21(1906), 78.

<sup>2</sup> Lees, 81.      <sup>3</sup> Lees, 85-86.

<sup>4</sup> Richardson, EHR, 211n2.



the early part of Henry's reign and continued to receive it even after 1173, when she was in semi-imprisonment. Moreover, she also received it during the reigns of King Richard and King John.<sup>1</sup> In 1193 Eleanor granted a charter of non-prejudice to Abbot Walter of Waltham concerning the help he had given in the collection of the gold, and in the following year she issued a writ recording the payment of forty marks owed her in arrears "from the time of King Henry." The remaining document from the years of Richard's reign is a confirmation to Dunstable Priory given in 1196 (no. 45).

In 1199 Eleanor issued nearly one-third of the documents, twenty-four out of a total of seventy-seven. The death of her son Richard I brought the queen into the forefront of politics. On April 6 of that year Richard died of infection in a wound inflicted by an arrow during a minor siege at Chalûs. On Palm Sunday, 11 April, he was buried at Fontevrault; the funeral was attended by Eleanor, the bishops of Poitiers and Angers, the abbots of Le Pin and Turpenay, Amaury, viscount of Thouars, and his brother Guy, William des Roches, and Peter Savary, whose names appear as witnesses on a confirmation to Fontevrault given the same day (no. 46). A few days later the papal legate, Cardinal Peter of Capua, came to Fontevrault; he witnessed Eleanor's gift to Luke, abbot of Turpenay, of the pond of Langeais (near Tours) and its mills, in gratitude for his assistance (no. 47).

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<sup>1</sup> Richardson, EHR, 209-210.



Eleanor then left Fontevrault and made an extended tour of her duchy, the purpose of which she explained in a charter given at Bordeaux, "We are obliged by the needs of our people and for the good of our patrimony to travel in Gascony" (no. 65). Behind this facade of pleasant words lay the queen's real intentions: To preserve her duchy as an intact political unit and to bestow it upon her youngest son, John, excluding her nephew, Arthur of Brittany. Visiting in rapid succession her cities and towns of Loudun, Poitiers, Montreuil-Bonnin, Niort, Andilly, La Rochelle, Saint-Jean-d'Angély and Saintes, she was at Bordeaux on 1 July and at Soulac 4 July.<sup>1</sup> After stopping at Tours to do homage to King Philip of France, she proceeded to Vaudreuil and then to Rouen by 30 July, where she met her newly crowned son, King John.<sup>2</sup>

During her tour, Eleanor had granted charters correcting depredations made and injustices committed by King Richard, as the phrasing of the charters admits concerning Richard's alleged behaviour (nos. 50, 62 and 69).<sup>3</sup> She also granted communal status and charters of liberties to her cities in return for their assumption of the responsibility for their own defence. The grants of communal status to La Rochelle (no. 54), Poitiers (no. 56), Oléron (no. 57)

<sup>1</sup> Pernoud, 247. The charters themselves provide little evidence as to the exact itinerary of the queen, since most are dated only by year.

<sup>2</sup> Richard, Poitou, ii.347.

<sup>3</sup> Also see nos. 71 and 72, issued in 1200.



and Saintes (no. 63) are almost identical in form and content.

Poitiers and Oléron also received charters of liberties (nos. 55 and 58). The grants to Poitiers are particularly interesting in view of the fact that in the first year of her marriage to Louis VII, the burghers in Poitiers had formed a commune which was ruthlessly crushed by Louis' army.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor also made several grants to religious foundations, Montierneuf (no. 49), a daughter abbey of La Merci-Dieu (no. 53), Fontevrault (no. 59), Puyravault (no. 60), the Templars of La Rochelle (no. 61), La Sauve (no. 65) and Holy Cross of Bordeaux (no. 66). Other beneficiaries of grants were Ralph of Mauléon (no. 48), Roger, chaplain of Eleanor's chapel of Saint Laurence at Fontevrault (no. 51), Alix, her granddaughter (no. 52), Chitrus, Richard's servant (no. 64), and Andrew of Chauvigny, her relative (no. 67).

After doing homage to Philip Augustus for her lands, in September of 1199 Eleanor granted Poitou to John (no. 68), who promptly gave it back to her for her lifetime<sup>2</sup> and recognized her as "lady" of his kingdom. The reasons for her surrender of Aquitaine are unclear,<sup>3</sup> but she seems to have been arranging some sort of protection against any theoretical claim put forward by Philip Augustus

<sup>1</sup> Pernoud, 33-34, 249..

<sup>2</sup> Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1837), 30b-31.

<sup>3</sup> Richardson, EHR, 205.



for the duchy.

In the last years of her life before her death in 1204, Eleanor issued only a few documents, giving two grants to Saint Maxent in 1200 (nos. 71 and 72), a gift of one hundred pounds to Fontevrault (no. 70), communal status to Niort in 1203 (no. 75), and two personal gifts, a bakehouse to one Reginald of Morin (no. 74) and ten pounds to her "dear sister" Alice, prioress of Fontevrault (no. 76). In 1200<sup>1</sup> she wrote a letter to John (no. 73), discussing a reconciliation which she had effected between her son and Amaury, viscount of Thouars, a reconciliation which lasted until her death, when Amaury promptly surrendered Poitou to Philip Augustus.

The last charter in the collection is a command to all her provosts to obey the immunities which Eleanor's father had given to two churches and to maintain a grant of alms which had been usurped (no. 77). It is undated and bears only a vague reference to "the king our son." The charter can therefore be dated only in the period from 1189, when Richard was crowned, to 1204, when Eleanor died, five years after John became king.

The collection of Eleanor's documents presented in this thesis does not include all that are known to have survived. A number of documents were unavailable to the author, either in photostat or in printed translation.

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<sup>1</sup>Or the spring of 1201 (Pernoud, 264).



Two of these missing documents are from the year 1154. Alfred Richard describes one of these. It concerns a gift which Eleanor made to her cousin, Viscount Hugh II,<sup>1</sup> of the fief of Beaumont and the right to hunt in the forest of Moulière with as many companions as he wished, and to be accompanied by a huntsman with the right to follow wounded beasts and to be replaced by another huntsman when he became fatigued.<sup>2</sup> In another unavailable charter from the same year Eleanor granted additional liberties to La Trinité de Vendôme, including those things given by Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and which William, duke of Aquitaine, conceded.<sup>3</sup>

Two known documents from 1156 were also unavailable. One is a letter to the provosts of Poitiers, Chizé, Benon, La Rochelle and all other provosts in Aquitaine, bidding them to respect the immunities accorded to the churches of Sablonceaux and Fontaine-le-Comte by her father, William;<sup>4</sup> the other is a renewal of the privileges of the abbey of La Sauve.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably viscount of Chatellerault.

<sup>2</sup> Richard, Poitou, ii.118. He lists Archives historiques du Poitou, 8(1880), 64, as the source.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Métais, "Cartulaire saintongeais de La Trinité de Vendôme," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 22(1893), 105. He refers to Bibliotheque de Vendôme, MS. 273, fo. xxvii, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Poitiers, Archives de la Vienne, Fontaine-le-Comte, I, i. This item was too badly damaged to be reproduced; no printed copy could be found.

<sup>5</sup> An incomplete text is found in Denis de Sainte Marthe, Gallia Christiana, . . . (16 vols.; Paris: n.p., 1715-1785), ii.869.



Another unavailable item is a confirmation of Eleanor's included in a cartulary collection by Paul Marchegay;<sup>1</sup> it is a notification to the provosts and men of the Talmundais of the gift of John of Longeville to the prior of Fontaines, made around 1172. Also unavailable is a confirmation of a grant to Maurice of Berkeley of property to be held in barony from King Richard for five knights' fees; this was given on 30 October 1189 and witnessed by William Marshal.<sup>2</sup>

Several unavailable charters are contained in the cartulary of the abbey of Fontevrault, now preserved at Angers and in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>3</sup> A copy of this cartulary made by Gaignières is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale,<sup>4</sup> but this particular item has never been catalogued. Neither the cartulary nor the transcript of it has been printed. Among the items in the cartulary not available elsewhere is a charter from 1192-1193, sanctioning the gift of the

<sup>1</sup> Paul Marchegay, Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou, département de la Vendée (Les Roches-Baritaud, Vendée: n.p., 1877), 109, Fontaines.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. F. Berkeley, Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Municaments in the Possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge, at Berkeley Castle, comp. Isaac Herbert Jeayes (Bristol: C. T. Jeffries & Sons, 1892), 18.

<sup>3</sup> See Robert I. Moore, "The Reconstruction of the Cartulary of Fontevrault," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 41(1968), 86-95. Nine of the folios are at Angers (Archives de Maine-et-Loire, MS. 101 H225) and the rest of the surviving portion in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. nouvelles acquisitions latines 2414). Folios 1-8, 18-135, and 270-272 are missing (Moore, 88).

<sup>4</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin 5480.



queen's damsel, Amicia Pautos, of half the land of "Wintreslawe" to Fontevrault.<sup>1</sup> Also in the same MS. is a charter of 24 April 1196, noting the conclusion of an agreement between the abbey of Bourgeuil and the men of Jaulnay concerning a wine tithe,<sup>2</sup> and a charter of unknown date giving the vill of Eaton Bray (Cytona) near Dunstable to Eleanor's butler Ingelran, at Winchester.<sup>3</sup>

Four unavailable documents were issued in the year 1199. On 4 May 1199, Eleanor gave a safeguard to the churches of Sablonceaux and Fontaine-le-Comte, especially forbidding the provost of Montreuil to violate the possessions of the latter.<sup>4</sup> Another such charter notifies her gift of the town of Jaunaium to Fontevrault for the nuns' kitchen.<sup>5</sup> Metais lists a gift of customs and rights in the woods and meadows of Argechon to the abbey of Puyravault;<sup>6</sup> like that in no. 60, the gift is free of any claims made by William Maingot. In August of 1199 Eleanor issued a writ addressed to one Roger Palestans, ordering him to do liege homage to Andrew of Chauvigny for the fee of Saint Sévère, and witnessed it herself at Vaudreuil.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Round, no. 1090. Round also mentions another charter concerning the same gift with a different list of witnesses and dated 1 August 1199. One of these witnesses is the queen's daughter Joanna (Round, 387n4).

<sup>2</sup> Round, no. 1092.      <sup>3</sup> Round, no. 1093.

<sup>4</sup> Poitiers, Archives de la Vienne, Fontaine-le-Comte, 1, I. This item was too damaged to be reproduced.

<sup>5</sup> Round, no. 1098.      <sup>6</sup> Metais, 118.

<sup>7</sup> Round, no. 1306. His source, *Trésor des chartes*, J. 655, Trans. 48, is no longer available from the Archives Nationales.



This writ is related to no. 67, which notes that Helie of Saint Sévère "was present and made his homage to the aforesaid Andrew of Chauvigny in front of everyone." Teulet lists a third document concerning the same grant, in which Eleanor and John declare that they have given Saint Sévère to Andrew.<sup>1</sup>

Another document from the same period is summarized by Round along with the will of Eleanor's daughter, Queen Joanna of Sicily (d.1199):

[Letter of] Alienor, the illustrious queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, countess of Anjou, addressed generally. she [sic] has gone to Gascony, taking with her the original (carta) of the testament of her dearest daughter queen Joan, that the count of St. Gilles may see it, for the testimony of the six seals attached to it, and provide its alms as far as he is concerned. She begs them, therefore, to carry out its provisions, according to the transcript of it she sends them, in the presence of William prior of Fontevrault and the brethren who have come with him to England on this matter, as they love God and her, to the honour of God and the advantage of the queen's soul.<sup>2</sup>

Round also lists a charter of 1200 notifying a gift of land to the cook Adam and his wife Joan, in exchange for payment of one pound of

<sup>1</sup> Alexandre Teulet, Layettes du trésor des chartes (5 vols.; Paris: Plon, 1863-1909), i.211. He refers to: Trésor des chartes, J. 655. Angleterre, pieces sans date, no. 9. Deficit.

<sup>2</sup> Round, no. 1105. A transcript is in London, Public Record Office, 31/8/140 A (Deville, no. 209).



cumin to the king's bailiffs at Carlisle yearly.<sup>1</sup> Teulet mentions a letter of 1203 in which Eleanor grants the town of Saint Amand next to the seashore and the land which Hugh of Thouars possessed in the fief of Benon to Amaury of Rochefort.<sup>2</sup>

Many of Eleanor's documents may still exist undiscovered. Undoubtedly a large number issued by the queen's clerks have been destroyed; the survival chances of any particular medieval charter or letter cannot have been great. If a document conferred privileges upon a town or religious foundation an attempt would be made to preserve it in the records of that body. But all town records, etc., from this period have not survived. Documents concerning individuals must have had a very low chance of survival.

A few of Eleanor's documents are known only from inference. Some of John's confirmations of grants made by his mother are printed in the Rotuli chartarum,<sup>3</sup> but the original grants of the queen do not appear to have survived.

Most of Eleanor's surviving documents are not originals, but copies. A cartulary of a monastery, into which a document might be copied, was more apt to survive than any or all of the original

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<sup>1</sup> Round, no. 1107.

<sup>2</sup> Teulet, i.247. He notes that this document, with ten others contained in J. 190 A, Poitou, I, no. 3, is no longer in the Trésor des chartes and is known only through an inventory made by Dupuy.

<sup>3</sup> Rotuli chartarum, 2a, 10b, 13a, 75b.



documents included in it. Indeed, many of Eleanor's documents are copies of copies: The vidimus of the later medieval period, and printed collections of cartularies, vidimi, and transcripts made in the seventeenth century.

Since no specific collection of Eleanor's documents has ever been made, this collection has been assembled from many sources: Monastic cartularies, collections of her husbands' documents, collections of governmental documents, and other miscellaneous sources. Its incompleteness has been noted but it is hoped that a start on a collection of Eleanor's charters has value.

The charters and letters in this collection might seem at first glance to be purely official documents which would show very little of Eleanor's personality. But this is not the case. Many of the charters include references to her husband and her children, and at least one (no. 7) has a very personal tone in its phrases:

. . . Touched by divine inspiration I desired to visit the congregation of the holy virgins at Fontevrault, and what I had in mind, assisted by the grace of God, I accomplished. Then I came, led by God, to Fontevrault, and went in to the chapter of the aforesaid virgins, and there, my heart having been moved, I commended, conceded and confirmed everything my father and my ancestors had given to the church of Fontevrault. . . .

Pernoud comments, "The phrasing of the charter surely proclaims how happy she was and how exhilarated by the prospects which lay before



her."<sup>1</sup> The documents also show Eleanor's affection for her third son, Richard; he is usually singled out for special mention (for example, in no. 33). Pernoud asserts that Richard is carissimus, while John is simply dilectum;<sup>2</sup> this is not true, though John is termed carissimus only after Richard's death (nos. 68 and 73).

Another aspect of her personality which the charters reveal is her careful attention to the authentication of her documents, hopefully defended for all time by a sanctio, a long list of witnesses, and a seal. This indicates a painstaking concern with her lands and rights. Her shrewd sense of business is shown by her advantageous trade with Ralph of Mauléon of the castle of Benon for rights in the busy port town of La Rochelle. Her commune charters are also careful grants of liberties--always salvo iuribus nostris--for the maintenance of defence.

Viewed in this light, a collection of Eleanor's documents can contribute much to an account of her life. Pernoud's pleasant biography, which does utilize some of the queen's documents, is a step in this direction. However, even this biographer does not make use of all the documents that are given in this thesis nor does she ever identify the documents that she has used. All other biographers of Eleanor have ignored her documents, possibly because no collection of them has hitherto been assembled. The documents translated here

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<sup>1</sup> Pernoud, 92.

<sup>2</sup> Pernoud, 246.



are a step towards the collection which can make a definitive biography of Eleanor possible.

The large number of sources from which the assembled documents were drawn created problems in editing. In general, the goal pursued was consistency. The letters u and v have been transliterated in accordance with modern usage. The e-caudata of the medieval scribes and the ae combination of the seventeenth-century antiquarians has been transliterated as e. The long i or j has been transliterated as i, since its original purpose was clarity in medieval handwriting. The punctuation of the Latin text was freely changed to correspond as closely as possible with the English text. Names, however, were left as they appeared in the sources.





In nomine Sancte et Individue Trinitatis, Amen. Ego Helie-nordis,<sup>1</sup> Dei gratia regina Francorum et ducissa Aquitanorum, notum fieri volumus cunctis fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod nos, pro remedio anime nostre et antecessorum<sup>2</sup> nostrorum et pro remedio animarum antecessorum Ludovici regis Francorum et ducis Aquitanorum mariti nostri, Deo et<sup>3</sup> militibus Templi presentibus atque futuris, qui ad defensionem Sancte Christianitatis contra infideles paganos sunt constituti, donavimus et in eternum concessimus molendinos quos apud Rochellam habebam et quos Isembertus de Castro Iulii in vita sua ibi tenuerat et quos Ganganus de Tauniaco ex dono comitis Pictavensis reclamabat et ipse Ganganus eos<sup>4</sup> predictis militibus Templi donaverat. Preterea militibus Templi donavimus et in eternum concessimus domos quos apud Rochellam habebant,

<sup>1</sup> Helionordis (R).

<sup>2</sup> LV is inserted here by Fonteneau. This mistake by the scribe was interpreted as meaning that Eleanor had once counted her ancestors or otherwise worked out her genealogy to fifty-five persons. However, the figure seems to be an error in transcribing. Cf. Fonteneau, xxv.287v(n2).

<sup>3</sup> Fonteneau has Dō which is crossed out and Deo et is inserted above the line.

<sup>4</sup> Fonteneau has eon crossed out and eos inserted above the line.

No. 1.

Original: Location now unknown; it is no longer in the archives of the Templars in La Rochelle.<sup>1</sup>

Copy: Poitiers. Bibliothèque. Collection de Dom Fonteneau, xxv.287-287v.

Printed Copy: L. M. de Richemond, "Chartes de la commanderie magistrale du Temple de La Rochelle (1139-1268)," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 1(1874), 25-26.

Date: 1139.

In the name of the Holy and Individual Trinity, Amen. I Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of the Franks and duchess of Aquitaine, wish to make known to all the faithful both in the future and in the present that, for the welfare of our soul and of our ancestors, and for the welfare of the souls of the ancestors of Louis, king of the Franks and duke of Aquitaine, our husband, we gave and conceded for eternity to God and the Templars in the present and also the future, who are established for the defense of Holy Christianity against the unbelieving pagans, the mills which I had at La Rochelle, and which Isembert of Chatelaillon<sup>2</sup> had there in his lifetime, and which "Ganganus" of Taunay claimed from the gift of the counts of Poitou, and the same "Ganganus" had given to them, the aforesaid Templars. Moreover, we gave and conceded for eternity to the

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<sup>1</sup> Poitier's. Bibliothèque. Collection de Dom Fonteneau, xxv.287v(n10).

<sup>2</sup> Chatelaillon in Aunis. Fonteneau, xxv.287v(n4).

videlicet in occupatu suo id est infra clausuras suas, liberas  
 prorsus et quietas ab omni consuetudine, infractione et tolta et  
 tailla et violentia ministerialium nostrorum, excepto teloneo  
 nostro. Quicumque autem eisdem militibus Templi de feodo nostro  
 aliquid dare voluerit, unde nostrum servitium hominum nostrum non  
 perdamus, illud volumus et concedimus. Item predictis militibus  
 Templi donavimus et concessimus ut omnis res proprie<sup>1</sup> ipsorum militum  
 per totam terram nostram secure et libere sine omni consuetudine  
 et sine omni exactione, sive per terram sive per aquam, vadant et  
 veniant. Quod ut perpetuum stabilitatis obtineat munimentum<sup>2</sup>  
 scripto commendavimus et sigilli nostri auctoritate<sup>3</sup> et nominis  
 nostri caractere subiecto firmavimus. Actum publice Lorriaco,  
 millesimo centesimo trigesimo nono<sup>4</sup> anno Incarnationis Domini  
 regni nostri tertio,<sup>5</sup> astantibus in palatio nostro quorum nomina  
 subtitulata sunt et signa. Signum Radulphi<sup>6</sup> Viremand' comitis et  
 dapiferi nostri; S. Guillelmi buticularii; S. Mathei camerarii;  
 S. Mathei constabularii.

(Monogram.)

<sup>1</sup> Fonteneau has prope crossed out and proprie inserted above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Monumen- is crossed out and munimen- inserted.

<sup>3</sup> autoritate (R).

<sup>4</sup> millesimo CXXXIX<sup>o</sup> (R).

<sup>5</sup> III<sup>o</sup> (R).

<sup>6</sup> Radulfi (R).

Templars the houses which we had at La Rochelle, namely, what is within the enclosures in their care, thoroughly free and quit of all custom, infraction, maltolt<sup>1</sup> and tax and violence of our ministers, excepting our levy. Moreover, whoever will wish to give anything from our fief to those Templars, we wish and concede it, provided we may not lose men from our service. Likewise, we gave and conceded to the aforesaid Templars that all personal goods of the knights themselves may come and go through all our land securely and freely, without any customs and without any exaction, whether by land or water. In order that it may obtain perpetual strength of stability, we commit it to writing and we fortify it by the authority of our seal and the drawing of our name below. Decreed publicly at Lorris in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1139 in the third year of our reign, witnessed in our palace by those whose names and marks on the documents are written below:  
Ralph, count of Vermandois, our steward;<sup>2</sup> William the butler;  
Matthew the chamberlain; Matthew the constable.

(Monogram.)<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An unjust or illegal tax or exaction.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph I of Vermandois (1116-1152), who married Eleanor's sister, Aelith (or Petronilla).

<sup>3</sup> See Frontispiece, diagram 1, for a sketch of the monogram.

Ego Helienordis, Francorum regina et Willelmi ducis Aquitani-  
ici filia, hoc donum, sicut rex vir meus concessit Beate Marie  
Xanton[ensi] ecclesie, sic concessi et huius + crucis impressione  
confirmavi, et in perpetuo habendum Sancte Marie et Agneti amite  
mee, eiusdem loci abbatisse, et omnibus eius successoribus, in  
eadem die non in eodem loco confirmavi. Videntibus: Aienrico de  
Niela; Aelith sorore mea; Maengo de Bonooculo; Arveo panetario et  
pluribus aliis.

No. 2.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: Poitiers. Bibliothèque. Collection de Dom Fonteneau,  
xxv.427.

Printed Copy: (Abbé) Pierre Théodore Grasilier, Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes: Vol. 2 of Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge . . . (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1871), 51.

Date: Between 1137 and 1152; Grasilier places it at 28 December 1140.<sup>1</sup>

I Eleanor, queen of the Franks and daughter of William, duke of Aquitaine, conceded and confirmed by the impression of this cross + this gift,<sup>2</sup> just as the king my husband conceded to the church of Blessed Mary of Saintes, to be had forever by Blessed Mary and Agnes my aunt,<sup>3</sup> abbess of that same place, and all her successors. I confirmed it the same day, not in that place. Witnessed by: Henry of Nesles; Alix my sister; Maingot Bonneuil; Harvey the steward and many others.

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Théodore Grasilier, Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes: Vol. 2 of Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge . . . (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1871), 51.

<sup>2</sup> A privilege of minting money, previously granted by Eleanor's father, William X, duke of Aquitaine (Fonteneau, xxv.427).

<sup>3</sup> Agnes of Barbizieux. See Alfred Richard, Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204 (2 vols.; Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1903), ii.71-72, 77-78, for a discussion of this charter and the following one.

In nomine Sancte et Individue Trinitatis, ego Heliennordis,  
Dei gratia humilis Francorum regina, et Aquitanorum ducissa, notum  
facimus omnibus hominibus tam presentibus quam futuris, quod assensu  
Ludovici regis Francorum et ducis Aquitanorum collateralis nostri,  
et Aelith sororis nostre, petizione Agnetis abbatisse, monialibus  
apud civitatem nostram Xanctonas semper virginis Marie servientibus,  
possessiones et terras earum, quascumque habent vel acquisierint,  
sic libere concedimus possidendas, ut nec nos, nec prepositi nostri,  
nec famuli, nec forestarii, nec ullus homo noster, vel aliquis alius  
ibi nec arbergamentum,<sup>1</sup> aut questam, aut prourationem, aut cavauga-  
dum, aut exercitum, aut quidlibet aliud vi aut terrore ulterius  
habemus. Quin etiam vigeriam, scilicet de homicido, de furto, de  
raptu, de incendio, prorsus finimus illis. Rogamus itaque omnes  
prelatos universalis ecclesie ad quos littere iste pervenerint,

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<sup>1</sup> For herbergamentum.

No. 3.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: (Abbé) Pierre Théodore Grasilier, Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes: Vol. 2 of Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge . . . (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1871), 36.

Date: 1141.

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, I Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of the Franks and duchess of Aquitaine, make known to all men both now as well as in the future that, with the assent of Louis, king of the Franks and duke of Aquitaine associated with us, and of Aelith our sister, and at the petition of Agnes the abbess, we concede freely to the nuns at our city of Saintes, serving ever virgin Mary, their possessions and lands, everything which they have or will acquire, to be possessed so freely that neither we nor our provosts, nor servants, nor foresters, nor any of our men or anyone else there may have harbourage,<sup>1</sup> or quête,<sup>2</sup> or procuration, or head tax, military service, or any other thing by force or threat. Likewise, high justice, namely of murder, theft, rape and arson, in short, we direct to them. Accordingly, we ask of all prelates of the universal church who may read this letter,

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<sup>1</sup> Or procuration.

<sup>2</sup> A domicile tax.

quatinus hoc privilegium suis muniant privilegiis; et si aliqua  
persona contra hoc statutum fecerit, eam, cum omnibus factoribus<sup>1</sup>  
suis, ex auctoritate Dei et sua, excommunicent. Actum Parisiis  
anno millesimo CXLI<sup>o</sup> ab Incarnatione Domini, astantibus in palacio  
nostro quorum hic nomina subscripta sunt. Signum comitis +  
Radulfi Viromandorum; S. Willelmi + buticularii; + Mathei constabu-  
larii; S. Cadurci cancellarii + regis Francorum; S. Petri capellani  
et cancellarii nostri.

Ego Alienordis, Dei gratia regina Francorum et Aquitanorum  
ducissa, notum fieri volumus universis quam presentibus tam futuris

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<sup>1</sup> For fautoribus (supporters)?

that they protect this privilege as their own privileges, and if any person might act against this statute, may he with all his agents be excommunicated by the authority of God and themselves. Decreed at Paris in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1141, witnessed in our palace by those whose names were written below. Signed + Ralph, count of Vermandois; signed + William the butler; + Matthew the constable; signed + Cadurc, chancellor of the king of the Franks; signed Peter, our chaplain and chancellor.

No. 4.

Original: Blois. Archives de Loir-et-Cher. Serie H, Abbaye de La Trinité de Vendôme, prieuré de Saint-Georges d'Oléron.

Printed Copy: Arthur Giry, "Chartes de l'abbaye de La Trinité de Vendôme," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 12(1884), 381-382.

Also in: Arthur Giry, Les établissements de Rouen (2 vols.; Paris: F. Vieweg, 1885), ii.72-73.

Date: 1146.<sup>1</sup>

I Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of the Franks and duchess of Aquitaine, wish to be made known to all those both now as well as

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<sup>1</sup> Louis' charter on the same subject was dated at Cahors and witnessed by Ralph of Vermandois, Matthew the chamberlain, William the butler and Matthew the constable (Arthur Giry, Les établissements de Rouen (2 vols.; Paris: F. Vieweg, 1885), ii.72n1).

quod pravas illas consuetudines quas in hominibus Vindocin ensis ecclesie de Olerone servientes seu ministeriales nostri male tene- erant, prout a domino nostro rege Ludovico condonate sunt et dimisso, ita et nos eidem ecclesie condonamus atque dimittimus, et, sicut per auctoritatem regalis precepti destructe sunt, in perpetuum eas abolemus ac deinceps requirendas non esse sanccimus. Erant autem he consuetudines: Impetebant siquidem servientes seu ministeriales nostri quemlibet hominum Vindocin[ensis] ecclesie in prefata insula de quolibet forisfacto, absque presentis testis producione, et in posite culpe purgationem, nisi per duellum vel per calide aque iudicium, nolebant omnino recipere. Intendebatur autem preterea a servientibus seu ministerialibus nostri adversus quemlibet hominum presignatorum, vel ab altero adversus alterum, vel etiam a quolibet adversus eosdem, quod supra regiam prohibitionem aliquid presumpsisset, ut vel hominem illum aut illum percutere, vel capere pignus pro debito vel quidlibet aliud. Harum vero consuetudinum prior, "appellatio," secunda, "defensio regis," appellabatur, et in intolerabile gravamen hominum illorum pessime creverant, dampnose perseverabant. Alteram igitur earum, id est "defensionem," prefate ecclesie ex toto dimittimus; alteram autem, id est "appellationem," nisi cum presentis testis productione

in the future that those bad customs which our servants or ministers had wrongly held among the men of the church of Vendôme of Oléron, just as they are pardoned and dismissed by our lord King Louis, we pardon and dismiss the same church, and, as they are demolished through the authority of the royal precept, we abolish them forever and we affirm they are not to be required henceforth. Now, these were the customs: Indeed, our servants or ministers used to accuse anyone of the men of the church of Vendôme in the aforesaid island of any injury without bringing forth an actual witness, and they were entirely unwilling to accept clearance of the charge, except through the duel<sup>1</sup> or through the judgment of hot water. Now moreover it was being maintained by our servants or ministers against any of the aforementioned men,--or by one opposite the other, or likewise by anyone hostile to them--because anyone might have presumed against the royal prohibition to strike either this or that man, or to seize a hostage for debt or any other thing. The first of these customs was called "appeal," the second, "king's defence," and they persisted perniciously, and had increased most wretchedly, to the intolerable oppression of those men. Moreover, the latter, that is, the "defence," we relinquish from the aforesaid church totally; and the other, that is, the "appeal," we also condemn

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<sup>1</sup>Trial by combat.

facta fuerit, perenni quoque silentio condempnamus. Quod ut ratum  
in posterum inconcussumque permaneat, scripto commendari et sigilli  
nostri<sup>1</sup> auctoritate corroborari precepimus.

(Copia.)<sup>2</sup> In nomine Sancte et Individue Trinitatis. Quoniam  
hominum memoria cito labitur, ne ob hoc<sup>3</sup> inter posteros altercationis<sup>4</sup>  
scrupulus oriatur, ego Alienor, Dei gratia ducissa Aquitanorum et  
Normannorum, significo tam presentibus quam futuris quod consilio  
illustrium virorum, et precibus Helie abbatis et monachorum Novi  
Monasterii, et pro remedio patris et avi mei, illa omnia que ecclesie  
Sancte Iohannis Evvangeliste<sup>5</sup> Novi Monasterii attavus<sup>6</sup> meus donavit,  
concessit et confirmavit, et similiter avus et pater meus donaverunt,  
concesserunt, et confirmaverunt tam in adquisitis quam in adquiran-  
dis,<sup>7</sup> do, concedo<sup>8</sup> et confirmo, et in perpetuum tenanda<sup>9</sup> precipio.

<sup>1</sup> sigilli nostri is obscured on the original.

<sup>2</sup> MS. from the Archives de la Vienne.

<sup>3</sup> haec (C-F).      <sup>4</sup> alterationis (C-F).

<sup>5</sup> Ioannis evangeliste (C-F).      <sup>6</sup> atavus (C-F).

<sup>7</sup> acquirendis (C-F).      <sup>8</sup> Omitted in C-F.

<sup>9</sup> tenenda (C-F).

eternally to disuse, unless it is done with the bringing forth of an actual witness. In order that it may remain ratified and unbroken to posterity, we order our letter to be commended and corroborated by the authority of our seal.

No. 5.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: Poitiers. Archives de la Vienne. Cartulaire de Montierneuf,  
reg. no. 206, p. 11.

Printed Copy: Jacques Joseph Champollion-Figeac, Documents historiques  
inédits, tirés des collections manuscrites de la Bibliothèque  
Royale (5 vols.; Paris: Firmin Didot, 1841-1874), ii.34-35.

Date: 26 May 1152.

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Because the memory of man soon fades, and lest for these reasons a scruple of debate might arise among posterity, I Eleanor, by the grace of God duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy, make known both to those in the present as well as the future that, by the counsel of illustrious men and the prayers of Helie the abbot and the monks of Montierneuf, and for the welfare [of the souls] of my father and grandfather, I give, concede and confirm, and order to be held forever, all those things which my great-grandfather gave, conceded, and confirmed to the church of Saint John the Evangelist of Montierneuf, and similarly my grandfather and father gave, conceded, and confirmed, both those

Concedo iterum et confirmo cuncta immunita<sup>1</sup> que attavus,<sup>2</sup> avus et pater meus eide<sup>3</sup> monasterio dederunt;<sup>4</sup> et omnia illa que ad se pertinere videntur sub totius libertatis munimine pono; et ab omni inquietudine cuiuscunque potestatis et omnium parentum meorum cunctorumque successorum meorum libera esse concedo; omnia illa que in carta<sup>5</sup> quam pater meus eis fieri fecit, et sigillo suo firmari<sup>6</sup> precepit<sup>7</sup> continentur, rata habeo, et Helie abbatii et monachis Novi Monasterii successoribusque suis in perpetuum tenenda et quiete possidenda concedo. Huius autem doni et concessionis testes sunt: Ebblo<sup>8</sup> de Maloleone et Radulfus<sup>9</sup> frater eius; et Ugo<sup>10</sup> vicecomes Castri Airaudi, et Radulfus frater eius; et Segebrandus Chabot; et Saldebrol<sup>11</sup> constabularius; et alii quamplures. Ut autem firma et illibata permaneat, sigilli nostri auctoritate firmari precepi. Hec autem<sup>12</sup> carta<sup>13</sup> data est Pictavi, per manum Bernardi cancellarii nostri, anno MCL<sup>O</sup>II<sup>O</sup> ab anno Incarnatione Domini, .vii. kalendas Iunii. (Recognitio of copyist.)<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup>cunctas immunitates (C-F).      <sup>2</sup>atavus (C-F).

<sup>3</sup>eidem (C-F).      <sup>4</sup>dederant (C-F).      <sup>5</sup>charta (C-F).

<sup>6</sup>Repeated by copyist.      <sup>7</sup>precipit (C-F).

<sup>8</sup>Eblo (C-F).      <sup>9</sup>Radulfus (C-F).      <sup>10</sup>Hugo (C-F).

<sup>11</sup>Saldebrot (C-F).      <sup>12</sup>Omitted in C-F.      <sup>13</sup>charta (C-F).

<sup>14</sup>MS. from the Archives de la Vienne.

things which have been acquired as well as those which will be acquired. Again, I concede and confirm all the immunities which my great-grandfather, my grandfather and my father gave to that same monastery; and I place under the protection of full privilege all those things which seem to pertain to it; and I concede [them] to be free from all disquiet and from the interference of any power and of my relatives and my successors. I have ratified all those things in the charter my father made to them and attested by his seal, and I concede [them] to Helie the abbot and the monks of Montierneuf and their successors to hold forever and to possess quietly. The witnesses to this gift and concession are: Eblo of Mauléon and Ralph his brother; Hugh, viscount of Chatellerault, and Ralph his brother; and Sebrand Chabot; and Saldebreuil the constable; and many others. In order that it may remain firm and unimpaired, I ordered it to be strengthened by the authority of our seal. This charter is dated at Poitiers, by the hand of Bernard our chancellor, in the year 1152 from the Incarnation of the Lord, 26 May.

No. 6.

Original: Lost.<sup>1</sup>

Copy: Poitiers. Bibliothèque. Collection de Dom Fonteneau, xvi.21.

Printed Copy: Léopold Victor Delisle, Recueil des actes de Henri

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<sup>1</sup> Fonteneau, xvi.21v(n).

In nomine Sancte Trinitatis. Ne oblivionis leto deleatur, et  
ob hoc inter posteros altercationis scrupulus oriatur, ego Alienors,  
Dei gratia ducissa Aquitanorum et Normannorum, significo tam  
presentibus quam futuris quod, cum essem cum rege Francorum regina,  
rege dante et concedente boscum de Sauria cum pertinentiis eius  
ecclesie Sancti Maxencii in manu Petri abbatis<sup>1</sup> ipsius ecclesie,  
predictum boscum et ego dedi et concessi. A rege vero iudicio  
ecclesie divisa, donum factum ad me revocavi. Postea vero pruden-  
tium virorum consilio, precibus predicti abbatis, donum quod prius  
quasi nolens feceram, ex bona voluntate ecclesie dedi et concessi,  
et, super altare missali superposito, Sauriam cum omnibus pertin-  
entiis suis Beato Maxentio obtuli et donavi, Metuli primo facta  
promissione<sup>2</sup> Petro abbatii et donacione. Iuncta vero Haierico duci  
Normannorum, comiti Andegavorum, salvo iure meo, videlicet

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<sup>1</sup> abbati (R).

<sup>2</sup> permissione (D).

II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie (3 vols.; Paris:

Imprimerie national, 1916-1927), i.30-31.

Also in: Alfred Richard, "Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Saint-Maixent, l'abbaye," Archives historiques du Poitou, 16(1887), 352-353.

Date: 27 May 1152.

In the name of the Holy Trinity. Lest it be obliterated by death, and because a scruple of debate may arise among posterity, I Eleanor, by the grace of God duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy, make known both to the present as well as to the future that, when I was queen with the king of the Franks, the king gave and conceded the wood of Sèvres with its appurtenances to the church of Saint Maxent in the hand of Peter,<sup>1</sup> abbot of that church, and I gave and conceded the aforesaid wood. However, having been separated from the king by the judgment of the Church, I took back to myself the gift made. After the counsel of prudent men and the prayers of the aforesaid abbot, however, the gift which I had made at first half unwilling, I gave and conceded out of good will to the church, and with one hand placed over the altar missal, I offered and gave Sèvres with all its appurtenances to Saint Maxent, first having made the promise and gift to Abbot Peter at Melle. Then, having been joined with Henry, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou,

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Raymond, abbot of Saint Maxent, 1134-c1164. See charters 24 and 25.

procuratione et expeditione, acta egi, donata donavi, concessa  
concessi, duce vidente, volente et concedente. Boscum igitur de  
Sauria cum pertinenciis suis ecclesie Sancti Maxentii, et Petro  
eiusdem ecclesie abbati, et successoribus eius damus et concedimus  
habendum in perpetuum et possidendum. Huius vero donacionis et  
concessionis testes sunt: Hugo vicecomes Castri Airaudi et Radulphus  
frater eius; et Segebrandus Chabot; et Maigotus de Metulo et  
Hugo de Rochaforti; et Saldebrol constabularius; et Briencius  
Chabot; et alii plures clerici, milites, burgenses. Ut autem hec  
carta rata et illibata permaneat, sigilli mei munimine confirmo.  
Hec autem carta data est Pictavi, per manum Bernardi cancellarii  
mei, anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo secundo ab Incarnatione  
Domini, sexto kalendas Iunii, Eugenio papa residente, Lodovico rege  
regnante, Gaufrido Burdegalensi archiepiscopo, Gisleberto  
Pictavensi episcopo.

saving my legal right, namely procuration and military service, I performed the deed, gave the gift, and conceded the concession, the duke agreeing, wishing, and conceding. Therefore, I give and concede to the church of Saint Maxent, to Peter, abbot of that same church, and to his successors, to have and possess forever, the wood of Sèvres with its appurtenances. The witnesses to this gift and concession are: Hugh, viscount of Chatellerault, and Ralph his brother;<sup>1</sup> and Sebrand Chabot; and Maingot of Melle; and Hugh of Rochefort; and Saldebreuil the constable; and Briand Chabot; and many other clerks, knights, and burghers. In order that this charter may remain ratified and unimpaired, I confirm [it] by the defense of my seal. This charter was dated at Poiters by the hand of Bernard, my chancellor, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1152, 27 May, Eugenius<sup>2</sup> residing as pope, Louis reigning as king, Geoffrey archbishop of Bordeaux,<sup>3</sup> and Gilbert bishop of Poitiers.<sup>4</sup>

No. 7.

Original: Location now unknown, but it was still extant in

<sup>1</sup> Eleanor's uncles. Ralph, called Ralph of Faye, was a trusted confidant of the duchess and witnessed fifteen of the charters in this collection.

<sup>2</sup> Eugenius III (1145-1153).

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey of Loroux (after March 1135 to 18 July 1158).

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert de la Porée (1142-4 September 1154).

Sciant universi Sancte Matris Ecclesie filii, tam presentes quam futuri, quod ego Alienordis, gratia Dei Pictavorum comitissa, postquam a domino meo Lodovico, videlicet serenissimo rege Francorum, causa parentele disiuncta fui, et domino meo Henrico, nobilissimo Andegavorum consuli, matrimonio copulata, divina illustratione tacta, sanctorum virginum Fontis Ebraudi, congregationem visitare concupivi, et quod mente habui, opitulante gratia Dei, opere complevi. Veni enim, Deo ducente, apud Fontem Ebraudum, et capitulum supradictarum virginum ingressa sum, ibique corde compuncta, laudavi, concessi et confirmavi quicquid pater meus et antecessores mei Deo et ecclesie Fontis Ebraudi dederant, et precipue illam elemosinam quingentorum solidorum Pictavensis monete, sicut dominus meus Ludovicus, Francorum rex, tunc temporis maritus meus, et ego quondam dederamus. Secundum, quod sua et mea scripta prelocuntur et ostendunt, omni prorsus occasione remota et absque ulla contradictione, deinceps imperpetuum habendam similiter concessi. Huius rei testes sunt: Saildebroil dapifer meus;

1870.<sup>1</sup>

Printed Copy: Léopold Victor Delisle, Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie (3 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie national, 1916-1927), i.31-32.

Date: A few days after 26 May 1152.

Be it known to all sons of Holy Mother Church, both in the present as well as in the future, that I Eleanor, by the grace of God countess of Poitou, after I was separated from my lord Louis, that is to say, the most serene king of the Franks, for reasons of consanguinity, and joined in matrimony to my lord Henry, most noble count of Anjou, touched by divine inspiration I desired to visit the congregation of the holy virgins at Fontevrault, and what I had in mind, assisted by the grace of God, I accomplished. Then I came, led by God, to Fontevrault, and went in to the chapter of the aforesaid virgins, and there, my heart having been moved, I commended, conceded and confirmed everything my father and my ancestors had given to the church of Fontevrault, and especially that alms of 500 sous in Poitevin money, just as my lord Louis, king of the Franks, then at that time my husband, and I once gave. Second, what was arranged and shown by his and my letter, every occasion [of dissent] being removed, I similarly conceded [to them] to have henceforth and forever. The witnesses of these things are:

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<sup>1</sup> Léopold Delisle, Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie (3 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie national, 1916-1927), i.31.

Josbertus absque terra; Paganus de Rocha Forti et frater eius  
Nivardus; Ugo de Longo Campo; Petrus Roognardus; Robertus de Monte  
Forti; Radulfus de Faia; magister Matheus. Actum est hoc in  
presentia domine Mathildis abbatisse, in communi capitulo sancti-  
monialium, anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLII<sup>o</sup>, regnante Lodovico  
rege Francorum, Gisleberto Pictavorum episcopo, et Henrico Picta-  
vorum et Andegavorum imperium gubernante.

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ego Alienordis,  
Aquitanorum et Normannorum ducissa, simulque Andegavorum comitissa,  
pro Sancte et Individue Trinitatis reverentia et dilectione, et pro  
animarum patris mei et matris mee salute et dilectissimi ducis  
Hainrici, coniugis me, prosperitate, ipsiusque et mei filii Guillelmi

Saldebreuil my steward; Josbert the landless; Payen of Rochefort and his brother Nivard; Hugh of Longchamp; Peter "Roognardus"; Robert of Montfort; Ralph of Faye; and master Matthew. This was done in the presence of the Lady Matilda abbess,<sup>1</sup> in the community of the nuns' chapter, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1152, Louis reigning as king of the Franks, Gilbert bishop of Poitiers, and Henry governing the empire of Paitou and Anjou.

No. 8.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: (Abbé) Charles Métais, "Cartulaire saintongeais de La Trinité de Vendôme," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 22(1893), 103-104.

Date: 1153-1154.<sup>2</sup>

In the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, I Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy, and likewise countess of Anjou, for the reverence and love of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, and for the safety of the souls of my father and my mother and the prosperity of my most beloved husband, Duke Henry, and to the honour and support of the safety of the latter and of my son William,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Matilda of Anjou, daughter of Fulk V of Anjou, Henry's aunt and widow of William the Aethling. She became abbess of Fontevrault after William's death in the White Ship (1120).

<sup>2</sup>Henry is not titled king of England; therefore the charter is before 1154. William was born in 1153.

<sup>3</sup>William was born 17 August 1153 and died in 1156.

incolumitatis subvectione et honore, consilio et precibus venerabilium virorum Pictavorum et Andegavorum, supplicibus petitionibus domini Roberti, Vindocinensis abbatis, et monachorum eius, acquiescens liberaliter, in elemosinam Vindocinensi ecclesie et in perpetuum dimitto, renuo, deleo et deinceps in eternum destructam esse precepio et confirmo, illam consuetudinem, quam in tempore antecessorum meorum et meo, in comedionibus, hospitalitatibus, procurationibusque prepositi mei, baillivi[,] servientes eorumque ministri, in prioratibus obedientiarum Vindocinensis monasterii, Sancti scilicet Georgii de Olerone, et Sancti Aniani, et Podii Rebelli habuerant, et antecessores mei et ego nobis et servientibus supradictis iure debito vendicabamus et exigebamus. Quod ut ratum et inconcussum a posteris firmiter habeatur et teneatur, presentem cartulam signo sancte crucis fideliter munivi, et sigilli mei appositione inviolabiliter mansurum confirmavi. Qui autem hoc scienter violaverit, ab omnipotenti Deo anathemate perpetuo se dampnandum inremissibiliter noverit. Hec viderunt et audierunt testes subscripsi: Robertus, abbas Vindocinensis; Jacob monachus; Hilarius sacrista; Willelmus, frater Hainrici ducis; Eblo de Maloleone, senescallus Pictaviensis; Goslenus, senescallus Andegavensis; Josbertus sine terra; Willelmus filius Hamonis; Gofridus de Cleeriis; Hugo, senescallus ?Fisse; Willelmus de Lanvalen; Iohannes de Forgiis, prepositus Oleronis;

by the counsel and prayers of the venerable men of Poitou and Anjou, acquiescing freely to the supplicating petitions of the lord Robert, abbot of Vendôme, and his monks, I give to the alms of the church of Vendôme and renounce forever, I deny, abolish, and I order and confirm to be destroyed forever, that custom my provosts, bailiffs, servants<sup>1</sup> and their ministers had in the time of my ancestors and myself, to feasting, hospitality and procuration in the priories of the obedientiaries of the monastery of Vendôme, namely Saint-Georges of Oléron, and Saint-Aignan, and Puyravault, and my ancestors and myself and our servants used to try to sell and demand of the aforesaid as our rightful due. In order that it may be had and held ratified and unshaken to posterity firmly, I have confirmed faithfully the present charter with the sign of the holy cross and have confirmed it to remain inviolable by the apposition of my seal. And who may violate this knowingly, he will know himself damned irrevocably by the anathema of Almighty God forever. The witnesses written below saw and heard these things: Robert, abbot of Vendôme; Jacob monk; Hilary, sacristan; William, brother of Duke Henry;<sup>2</sup> Eblo of Mauléon, seneschal of Poitou; Joscelin, seneschal of Anjou; Josbert the landless; William Fitz-Hamon; Geoffrey of Cleers;<sup>3</sup> Hugh, seneschal of La Flèche; William of Lanvalai; John of Forges,

<sup>1</sup>Or, servants of the bailiff.

<sup>2</sup>William of Anjou (1136-d.29 January 1164).

<sup>3</sup>Or, Clères (Richard, Poitou, ii.116).

Brientius de Martiniaco; Herveus panitarius; Petrus, notarius ducisse.  
Signum + Alienordis ducisse.

Alienor, regina Anglie, ducissa Normanie et Aquitanie, et  
comitissa Andegavie, militibus et hominibus qui de abbatia de  
Abbendona terras et tenuras tenent, salutem. Precipio quod iuste  
et sine dilatione faciatis Walkelino, abbati de Abbendona, plenarie  
servitium suum, quod antecessores vestri fecerunt antecessoribus  
suis, tempore regis Henrici, avi domini regis; et nisi feceritis,  
iustitia regis et mea faciat fieri. Teste: Joscelino de Baillol;  
apud Wintoniam. Per breve regis de ultra mare.

provost of Oléron; Briand of Martigny; Harvey the steward; Peter, notary of the duchess. Signed + Eleanor duchess.

No. 9.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, ed. Joseph Stevenson (2 vols.; Rolls Series, 2; London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), ii.225.

Date: 1152-1189.

Eleanor, queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the knights and men who hold lands and tenures from the abbey of Abingdon, greetings. I order that justly and without delay you do full service to Walkelin, abbot of Abingdon, as your ancestors did to his predecessors, in the time of King Henry, grandfather of the lord king;<sup>1</sup> and if you do not do it, the justice of the king and myself will make you do it. Witness: Joscelin of Baillol;<sup>2</sup> at Winchester. By the king's writ from over the sea.

No. 10.

Original: Location unknown.

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<sup>1</sup>Henry I (1100-1135) was the grandfather of Henry II.

<sup>2</sup>One of Henry's chief advisors. See Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings (2 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1887), ii.66.

Elienora, Dei gratia regina, hominibus suis de Estonia et omnibus fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse ecclesie et fratribus Sancti Iohannis de Colescestria .II. partes decime dominii mei de Estonia ita bene et plenarie, sicut illam unquam melius habuerunt tempore Eudonis dapifer, et sicut rex Henricus dominus meus predictam decimam eis confirmavit per cartam suam. Testibus: Hermano, capellano; Iohanne, clerico regine; Ansfrido, clerico de Estonia; Rogero de Windressores. Apud Waltham.

Printed Copy: Colchester. Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis

Baptiste de Colescestria . . ., ed. Stuart Archibald Moore

(London: Roxburghe Club, 1897), i.38.

Date: 1152-1189.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen, to all her men of Easton and to all her faithful, greetings. Be it known that we have conceded and given to the church and brothers of Saint John of Colchester two parts of the tithe of my lordship of Easton fully and freely, just as they had it on the best terms in the time of Eudo the steward,<sup>1</sup> and just as my lord King Henry confirmed the aforesaid tenth to them through his charter. Witnesses: Herman, the chaplain; John, the queen's clerk; Ansfrid, clerk of Easton; Roger of Windsor. At Waltham.

No. 11.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Colchester. Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis

Baptiste de Colescestria . . ., ed. Stuart Archibald Moore

(London: Roxburghe Club, 1897), i.54.

Date: 1152-?

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Eudo Fitz-Hubert, steward for William the Conqueror, c1072 to 28 December 1115 (Handbook of British Chronology, ed. Maurice Powicke (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1961), 72).

Alienora, regina Anglie, ducissa Aquitannie et Normannie et  
comitissa Andegavie, Willelmo de Fraxineto, salutem. Precipio quod  
permittas abbatem et monachos de Colecestria tenere terram suam de  
Withermundefordia bene et in pace, libere et iuste, sicut carta eorum  
testatur, et super hoc nullam eis inde molestiam vel iniuriam facias.  
Et nisi feceris vicecomes Essexie faciat, ne inde, etc. Teste  
cancellario apud Oxenefordiam.

Alienora, regina Anglie, etc., Iohanni filio Radulfi, vice-  
comiti Londonie, salutem. Conquesti sunt michi monachi de Rading'  
quod dissaisiti sunt iniuste de quibusdam terris apud Londoniam,  
quas illis dedit Ricardus filius B. quando monachus devenit, de  
tenuris scilicet abbatis de Westmonasterio et abbatis Sancti

Eleanor, queen of England, duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to William of La Garde-Freinet, greetings. I order that you permit the abbot and monks of Colchester to hold their land of Withermundeford securely, freely, and justly, just as is witnessed by their charter, and make no trouble or injury on that account to them over this. And unless you do it, the sheriff of Essex will make you [do it], lest from there, etc.<sup>1</sup> Witnessed by the chancellor<sup>2</sup> at Oxford.

No. 12.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Harleian MS. 1708, fo. 113b.

Printed Copy: H. G. Richardson, "The Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine," English Historical Review, 79(1959), 195n3.

Date: 1154-1157.

Eleanor, queen of England, etc.,<sup>1</sup> to John Fitz-Ralph, sheriff of London, greetings. The monks of Reading have complained bitterly to me that they are dispossessed of certain lands at London, which Richard Fitz-B. gave to them when he became a monk [there], namely

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the formula is lacking.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Matthew, Eleanor's chancellor. It is unlikely that it would be Thomas Becket, since Eleanor disliked him. See Regine Pernoud, Eleanor of Aquitaine (London: Collins, 1967), 119, 138. Pernoud quotes a letter from the bishop of Poitiers, John of Bellesmains, to Becket in May 1165, concerning a dispute between Ralph of Faye and Becket. Eleanor took her uncle's side in the quarrel.

Augustini de Cantuaria. Precipio itaque ut sine dilacione perquiras,  
si ita est et si hoc verum esse comperis, omni mora postposita  
monachos resaisiri facias, ne amplius inde aliquem clamorem audiam  
pro penuria recti et iusticie. Et nullatenus volumus pari ut aliquid  
iniuste amitant quod ad eos pertinet. Valete.

A[lienora], regina Anglie et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie  
et comitissa Andegavie, comiti Hugoni et ministris suis de Sudfoc,  
salutem. Precipio vobis quod Cornerda manerium abbatisse et monalium  
Maillinges sit quietum de placitis et querelis et sciris et hundredis  
et omnibus occasionibus, sicut fuit quietius tempore Roberti filii  
Hamonis et sicut rex dominus meus per breve suum precipit. Et multum  
displacet domino meo regi et michi quod vos non facitis preceptum suum  
et quod non permittatis eis habere pacem; et si facere nolueritis,  
iustitia regis faciat fieri. Teste: Comite Rainaldo per Radulfum

of the tenures of the abbot of Westminster and of the abbot of Saint Augustine of Canterbury. Therefore, I order that you examine carefully without delay if it is so, and if you find this is the truth, neglecting all delay you may cause the monks to be reinstated, lest I hear any further outcry from there for the lack of law and justice. And by no means will we tolerate that they unjustly should lose anything that pertains to them. Farewell.

No. 13.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Calendar of Charter Rolls. 21 Edward III, v.61,  
no. 29.

Date: Before 1175.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy, and countess of Anjou, to Earl Hugh and his ministers of Suffolk, greetings. I order you that [for] the manor of "Cornerda" the abbess and nuns of Maillé may be quit of pleas and suits in the shire court and hundred[court] and all occasions, just as it was quit in the time of Robert Fitz-Hamon, and just as the king my lord ordered in his writ. And my lord the king and myself are much displeased that you do not obey his writ and that you do not permit them to have peace; and if you are unwilling to do [it], the justice of the king will make you

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<sup>1</sup>The witness, Earl Reginald, was an illegitimate son of King Henry I; he died 1 July 1175 (Powicke, 422).

filium Geroldi, apud Bermundesiam.

A[lienordis], regina Anglie et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie  
et comitissa Andegavensis, omnibus prepositis, ballivis et ministris  
regis et suis totius Aquitanie, salutem. Mando, volo, concedo et  
firmiter precipio quod omnia illa quae abbas et monachi et fratres  
de Fonte Moriniaco ad suum ement proprium usum, sicut assecurare  
poterint<sup>1</sup> quod sua sint propria, per totam terram et potestatem  
nostram ab omni consuetudine sint quieta, et prohibeo ne quis inde  
faciat eis aliquam iniuriam vel molestiam. T[estibus]: A[uzburgis],  
abbatissa Fontis Ebraldi; Petro, capellano; Jordanno, clericō.  
Apud Fontem Ebraldi.

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<sup>1</sup> potuerint?

do it. Witness: Earl Reginald for Ralph Fitz-Gerald, at Bermondsey.

No. 14.

Original: Lost.

Printed Copy: Jacques Soyer, "Les actes des souverains anterieurs au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle conservés dans les archives départementales du Cher, transcrits in extenso avec des analyses. Vol. 2: Abbaye de Fontmorigny," Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre, 27(1905), 117-118.

Date: 1154-1170.

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to all provosts, bailiffs and ministers of the king and herself of all Aquitaine, greetings. I command, wish, concede and firmly decree that all those things which the abbot and monks and brothers of Fontmorigny buy for their own particular use, provided that they may be able to assure that they are their own property, they may be quit through all our land and area of authority from all customs, and I forbid that anyone on that account may do them any injury or annoyance. Witnesses: Audeburg, abbess of Fontevrault; Peter, chaplain; Jordan, clerk. At Fontevrault.

No. 15.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. Public Record Office. D of L 42/149, fo. 101b.

Date: Around 1154 to between 29 September 1178 and Easter of

A[lienora], regina Anglie et ducissa Aquitanie et Normanie et  
comitissa Andegavie, iusticiis et vicecomitibus et ministris de  
Norfolca, salutem. Precipio quod ecclesia Sancte Fidis de Horsham  
teneat terra sua de Hochcon' ita bene et in pace et iuste, sicut  
aliquis eam melius tenuit tempore regis H[enrici], avi domini mei,  
et eodem servicio et eadem consuetudine. Teste: Ricardo de Luci.  
Apud London' per breve regis.

Alienora, regina Anglie {et ducissa Normannie et Aquitanie et  
comitissa Andegavie], Iohanni filio Radulfi vicecomiti Londonie,

1179.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the justices and sheriffs and ministers of Norfolk, greetings. I order that the church of the Holy Faith of Horsham may hold its land of Horsham provisionally and justly, just as it was held on the best terms in the time of King Henry, grandfather of my lord, and their service and custom. Witness: Richard de Luci. At London, by the king's writ.

No. 16.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Harleian MS. 1708, fo. 113b.

Printed Copy: The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas Term of the First Year of the Reign of King John (1199-1200). ed. H. G.

Richardson (Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, new series, 21; London: J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1943), lxviii.

Date: Early part of 1156 or 1157.<sup>2</sup>

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, to John Fitz-Ralph, sheriff of London,

<sup>1</sup> According to the dates of Richard de Luci's term of office as justiciar (Powicke, 69).

<sup>2</sup> John Fitz-Ralph was sheriff of London from 1154 to Michaelmas 1157, with a break in 1155 from Easter to Michaelmas (The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas Term of the First Year of the Reign of King John (1199-1200), ed. H. G. Richardson (Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, new series, 21; London: J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1943), lxviii).

salutem. Mando tibi et precipio cogas Iohannem Buconte quatinus  
warantizet monachos Rading[enses] .XL. solidatas terre eis dedit  
Londonie pro anima patris sui aut escambium quod tantum valeat. Quod  
nisi feceris iusticia regis de Londonia faciat, ne amplius inde  
clamorem audiam pro penuria recti. Teste: M[atheo], cancellario.

A[lienora], regina Anglie et ducissa Aquitanie et comitissa  
Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, baronibus, dapiferis et omnibus  
fidelibus et ministris regis et suis totius Aquitanie, salutem.  
Sciatis regem dominum meum et me concessisse et confirmasse conven-  
tionem et finem que facta fuit inter Gervasium, thesaurarium ecclesie  
Sancti Hylarii, et eiusdem ecclesie capitulum, scilicet quod idem  
Gervasius concessit capitulo predicto quicquid ad eum et ad digni-  
tatem et officium thesaurarie sue pertinebat, et quicquid in

greetings. I order you and instruct that you may compel John Buconte so that he will guarantee the monks of Reading forty shillings of land he gave to them in London for the soul of his father or an exchange that is worth as much. Unless you do this, the justice of the king of London will, lest I hear any further plea for the need of law. Witness: Matthew the chancellor.

No. 17.

Original: Lost.

Copy: Poitiers. Bibliothèque. Collections de Dom Fonteneau, x.563.

Printed Copy: Léopold Victor Delisle, Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie (3 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie national, 1916-1927), i.117-118.

Date: 1156-1159?

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, barons, stewards, and to all the faithful and the ministers of the king and of herself of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known my lord the king<sup>1</sup> and I have conceded and confirmed an agreement and compromise which was made between Gervase, the treasurer of the church of Saint Hilary, and the chapter of that same church, that is to say, the same Gervase conceded to the aforesaid chapter everything which used to pertain to him and to the dignity and office of his treasury, and everything

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<sup>1</sup> Henry's confirmation is printed in Delisle, i.114.

molendinis et edificiis de iure thesaurarie habebat, ab aqua Sancti Porcarii videlicet usque subtus Rocham Sancti Porcarii, in aqua et stagnis, et in paludibus et ortis et pratis et ceteris circumadiacentibus terri ex utraque ripa, ita quod annuatim capitulum Sancti Hylarii supranominato Gervasio sive successoribus suis reddet trecentos solidos Andegavensis monete, sicut in carta archiepiscopis<sup>1</sup> Burdegalensis et in carta eiusdem Gervasii thesaurarii continetur. Testibus: Matheo, cancellario; et Rad[ulfus] de Hasting', dapifero; et Saldebrol constabulario; et Willelmo filio Hamonis et Herveo panetario, preposito Pictavensi. Apud Rofiacum.

A[lienora], regina Anglie, ducissa Aquitanorum et Normannorum et comitissa Andegavorum, iusticiariis, vicecomitibus et baronibus in

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<sup>1</sup> archiepiscopi (D).

he used to have by right of the treasury from the mills and buildings, namely from the water of Saint-Porchaire and up to below Saint-Porchaire Rock, in rivers and ponds, and in marshes and fields, and meadows and other things adjoining the lands on each bank, on condition that the chapter of Saint Hilary give annually to the aforesigned Gervase or his successors 300 sous in Angevin money, just as it is contained in the charter of the archbishop of Bordeaux and in the charter of the same Gervase the treasurer. Witnesses: Matthew, the chancellor; and Ralph of Hasting, the steward; and Saldebreuil the constable; and William Fitz-Hamon and Harvey the steward, provost of Poitiers. At Ruffec.

No. 18.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: ?MS. St Paul's, A/69, no. 8.

Printed Copy: Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, ed. Marion Gibb (Camden Society, third series, 58; London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1939), 34.

Date: 1157-1162.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, queen of England, duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the justiciars and sheriffs and barons in whose

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<sup>1</sup> Eleanor was regent during this time and Matthew was her chancellor (Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, ed. Marion Gibb (Camden Society, third series, 58; London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1939), 34n1).

quorum potestatibus ecclesia Sancti Pauli et canonici de Lond' terras habent, salutem. Precipio quod ecclesia Sancti Pauli London' et canonici eiusdem ecclesie teneant omnes terras suas et tenuras ita bene et honorifice et libere cum omnibus consuetudinibus et rectitudinibus suis infra burgum et extra, sicut carte regis H[enrici] avi domini mei et Willelmi patris sui testantur. Et super hoc nulla eis fiat iniuria. Teste: Mattheo, cancellario. Apud Wintoniam per breve regis de ultra mare.

A[llienora], regina Anglorum et duchissa Aquitanorum et Normanorum et comitissa Andegavorum, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, baronibus, et omnibus fidelibus regis et Anglis et Francis, salutem. Sciatis quod Robertus Flambard' clamavit quietum coram me

area of authority the church of Saint Paul and the canons of London hold lands, greetings. I order that the church of Saint Paul in London and the canons of that same church may hold their lands and tenures there well and honourably and freely with all their customs and rights inside the city and outside, just as it was attested by the charter of King Henry, grandfather of my lord, and William his father.<sup>1</sup> And over this no one may do an injury to them. Witness: Matthew the chancellor. At Winchester by the king's writ from over the sea.

No. 19.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. Public Record Office. Cartae Antiquae Rolls 13, mem.  
3, no. 26.

Printed Copy: The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20 Printed from the  
Original MSS. in the Public Record Office, ed. J. Conway Davies  
(Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, new series, 33; London:  
J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1960), 71-72.

Date: 29 November 1158.

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, barons, and all the king's faithful both English and French, greetings. Be it known that Robert Flambard quitclaimed in my presence Warner of

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<sup>1</sup>William the Conqueror.

Garnerium de Lusoriis de omnia calumpnia et conventione quam habuit erga eum in terris et in omnibus aliis rebus. Et predictus Robertus et heredes suis forsiuraverunt hec Garnerio et heredibus eius. Et propter hoc dedit Garnerius Roberto et heredibus suis .IIII. marcas argenti coram me. Testibus: Goscelino, episcopo Saresberiensi; comite Reginaldo Cornubie; Reginaldo de Warenn'; Joscelino de Baillol; Roberto de Dunest'. Apud Sar'.

A[lienora], regina Anglorum, ducissa Aquitanorum et Normannorum et comitissa Andegavorum, vicecomiti de Derbi scira, salutem.  
Precipio quod Matildis, comitissa de Cestria, habeat suum waupertac

"Lusoriis" of all claims and the covenant which he had toward him in lands and in all other things. And the aforesaid Robert and his heirs forswore them to Warner and his heirs. And on account of this, Warner gave four silver marks to Robert and his heirs in my presence.

Witnesses: Joscelin, bishop of Salisbury; <sup>1</sup> Earl Reginald of Cornwall; Reginald of Warenne; Joscelin of Baillol; Robert of Dunestanvill. <sup>2</sup>

At Sarum.

No. 20.

Original: London. Public Record Office. D of L Royal Charters 10/39.

Printed Copy: (Sir) Frank Merry Stenton, Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw (British Academy. Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, 5; London: n.p., 1920), 360-361.

Date: 1158.<sup>3</sup>

Eleanor, queen of England, duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the sheriff of Derbyshire, greetings.

I order that Matilda, countess of Chester,<sup>4</sup> may have her wapentake

<sup>1</sup> Joscelin de Bohun, consecrated 1142, resigned 1184, d. 18 November 1184 (Powicke, 251).

<sup>2</sup> Robert Eyton, Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II (London: Taylor and Co., 1878), 43.

<sup>3</sup> Eyton, 42.

<sup>4</sup> Matilda was the daughter of Robert, earl of Gloucester; she married Ralph de Gernon, earl of Chester, about 1141, founded Repton Priory in 1172 and died 29 July 1189 (G. E. Cokayne, Complete Peerage of

et hundredrum de Rapendona et omnes libertates et consuetudines suas  
et teneat bene et in pace et quiete, sicut tenebat die qua dominus  
rex novissime transfretavit. Et ita plenarie habeat, sicut comes  
Rannulfus melius et quiecius habuit tempore regis Henrici, avi domini  
mei. Et nisi feceris, iusticia regis et mea faciat fieri. Teste:  
Joscelino de Bailol apud Saresburiam.

[Alienora,] regina Anglie, et ducissa Aquitannie et Normannie,  
et comitissa Andegavie, militibus que teneant de feodo ecclesie de  
Malmesuria, salutem. Precipio vobis quod faciatis abbati de  
Malmesuria servicium de feodis vestris integre et plenarie, sicut  
recognitum fuit ante regem et ante iusticiarios apud Wygorniam.  
Teste: Roberto, com[ite] Leicestre, apud Westmonasterium. Et sicut

and hundred [court] of Repton and all liberties and customs and may hold them fully and quietly, just as it was held on the day that the lord king crossed the sea most recently. And she may have it there fully, just as Earl Ralph<sup>1</sup> had on the best terms and peacefully in the time of King Henry, grandfather of the lord king. And unless you do it, the justice of the king and myself will make you do it.

Witness: Joscelin of Baillol at Salisbury.

No. 21.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. Public Record Office. E 164/24. Malmesbury Cartulary (Penes Remem. Regin.), no. 56.

Printed Copy: Registrum Malmesburiense, ed. J. S. Brewer (2 vols.; Rolls Series, 72; London: Longman & Co., 1879), i.335.

Date: cSeptember 1158.

Eleanor, queen of England, and duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, to the knights who hold of the fief of the church of Malmesbury, greetings. I order you to do the service of your fiefs to the abbot of Malmesbury wholly and fully, just as it was acknowledged before the king and the justiciars at Worcester.

Witness: Robert, earl of Leicester,<sup>2</sup> at Westminster. And just as

England (13 vols.; London: St. Catherine Press, 1913), iii.167).

<sup>1</sup> Ranulph le Meschin, earl of Chester c1120-1121, died c1129 (Powicke, 420).

<sup>2</sup> Robert was justiciar with Richard de Luci until his death 5 April 1168.

inde ei fecistis homagium vestrum. Teste eodem.

A[lienora], regina Anglorum et ducissa Aquitanorum et Normannorum  
et comitissa Andegavorum, abbati de Hulmo, salutem. Precipio tibi  
quod iuste et sine dilacione distringas Willelmum de Ouby per terram  
quam de te tenet quod ipse reddat monachis Sancti Benedicti frumentum  
quod eis debet ad victum suum. Et nisi feceris, vicecomes Northfolch'  
faciat. Et nisi fecerit, iusticia regis et mea faciat, ne ultra inde  
clamorem audiam pro recti penuria. Teste: Joscelino de Boyloil,  
apud Hungreford per breve regis.

after you did your homage to him. Witness the same.

No. 22.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Cotton MS. Galba E 2, fo. 32v, no. 31 (margin).

Printed Copy: R. J. West, The Registers of St. Benet of Holme (2 vols.; Norfolk Record Society Publications, 3; Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1932), ii.20.

Date: Between August and December of 1158.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, queen of England, and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the abbot of Holme, greetings. I order that justly and without delay you distrain William of Ouby by means of the land which he holds of you that he may give to the monks of Saint Benedict the grain which he owes to them for his livelihood. And unless you will have done this, the sheriff of Norfolk will do [it]. And unless it will have been done, the justice of the king and myself will make [it] be done, lest afterwards I hear a complaint from there for the need of law. Witness: Joscelin of Baillol, at Hungerford by the king's writ.

No. 23.

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<sup>1</sup>R. J. West, The Registers of St. Benet of Holme (2 vols.; Norfolk Record Society Publications, 3; Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1932), ii.20.

A[lienora], regina Anglorum, ducissa Aquitanorum et Normannorum  
et comitissa Andegavorum, vicecomiti et baillivis de Northfolch,  
salutem. Precipio quod ecclesia Sancti Benedicti de Hulmo teneat  
omnia tenementa sua bene et in pace et iuste, sicut tenuit quando rex  
novissime transfretavit, et nominatim villam de Hecham cum omnibus  
pertinenciis suis, et non ponantur inde in placitum donec rex in  
Angliam redeat vel inde aliud precipiat. Teste: Ricardo de Luci,  
apud Oxenford per breve regis de ultra mare.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Cotton MS. Galba E 2, fo. 33v, no. 43.

Printed Copy: R. J. West, The Registers of St. Benet of Holme (2 vols.; Norfolk Record Society Publications, 3; Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1932), ii.24-25.

Date: Either January-September 1160, or February-May 1165.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, queen of England, duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy, and countess of Anjou, to the sheriff and bailiffs of Norfolk, greetings. I order that the church of Saint Benedict of Holme may hold all its feudal holdings provisionally, in peace, and justly, just as they were held when the king most recently crossed the sea, and expressly the vill of Heigham with all its appurtenances, and not pleadable concerning this in court, until the king may return to England, or orders otherwise concerning this. Witness: Richard de Luci,<sup>2</sup> at Oxford by the king's writ from over the sea.

No. 24.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: (Dom) Luc D'Achery, Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis, maxime Benedictorum latuerant,

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<sup>1</sup> According to the absences of either Eleanor or Richard de Luci from England (West, ii.25).

<sup>2</sup> Henry II's justiciar until c1178-1179.

Reverendo patri ac domino suo Alexandro, Dei gratia Sancte Romane Ecclesie summo pontifici, Alienor, humilis regina Anglie, debitum cum omni devotione famulatum. Super hac tanta serenissimi patris mei dignitate humilis filie devotio exultare, Deumque laudare non desinit, et filialis ac vere dilectionis furor exuberans paternam sepe numero prorumpit in laudem. Non potest extingui tantorum estuans cumulis gaudiorum, et iustissimi favoris gratia intempestivo nescit interire silentio. Unde quoties me presente fit sermo de partibus, ego pro parte vestra confidenter defendans inimice ausus potestatis impugnare, imo meis rationibus expugnare non vereor. Ante utique iustissime laetabar, et vestros merito amplectebar successus, sed illa scripture et salutationis vestre, plurime etiam commendationis atque in finem verissime promissionis gloriosa dignatio parvitas mee omnem sufficit impetrare favorem. Nescio quam hausi spiritualem et intime suavitatis dulcedinem, ac singula verba tanquam singula divine benedictionis munera laetissime simul devotissimeque suscepi. Preterea filii vestri, et domini mei cardinales, Henricus Pisanus, et magister Guillermus, Dei nostrique gratia, multum honorificantie et benevolentie mihi exhibuerunt. Gratulor itaque tales a latere vestro delegatos fuisse, qui et nostre electionis censura, et

spicilegium (13 vols.; Paris: [n.p.], 1655-1677), ii.451-452.

Date: 1163.

To her reverend father and lord Alexander,<sup>1</sup> by the grace of God pope of the Holy Roman Church, Eleanor, humble queen of England, the obligation of service with all devotion. Concerning the so great dignity of my serene father, his humble daughter does not cease to exult and praise God, and the exaltant frenzy of true filial affection breaks forth again and again into paternal praise. Seething with the accumulation of such great joys, it cannot be extinguished, and the grace of just favour does not perish in poorly timed silence. Hence, whenever a plea is made in my presence on their behalf, I, a confident defender on your behalf, do not hesitate to attack the boldness of a hostile power; nay, on the contrary, I fight [but] I do it for my own reasons. In the past, I rejoiced most fittingly and embraced deservedly your success, but the glorious grace of your letter and greeting, indeed of great worth and truest promise unto the end, suffices to secure all the favour of my humble self. I do now know what spiritual sweetness of intimate pleasantness I have drawn, and I have received every word and gift of divine blessing happily and devotedly. Moreover, your sons and my lords, Henry of Pisa and Master William, cardinals by God's grace and ours, showed me great respect and goodwill. I rejoice therefore that you have sent out men such as these who are deemed most worthy by the

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<sup>1</sup> Pope Alexander III (1159-1181).

omnimoda subditorum reverentia dignissimi estimantur. Sed quia non illis meus, sed illorum mihi necessarius est et salutaris interventus, iam pro P. consanguineo, abbe Sancti Maxentii, sublimitati vestre supplicans, et ad scabellum pedum vestrorum humillime prostrata, postulationem continuo; ut carissimo meo ordinis sui usum, et liberam ministrandi potestatem miseratio vestra pie restituat, adventum vestrum ad partes nostras in Dei nostrique beneplacito desiderans desiderare, sed et absenti et presenti paratissima sive omnem exhibere humilis et fidelis ministre devotionem. Universis ecclesie filiis patrem suum divina miseratio conservet incolumem.

Domino et dilecto suo, Iacinto, Dei gratia Sancte Romane

criticism of our choice and by the complete reverence of our subjects. But because my intervention is neither necessary nor beneficial to them, but theirs is to me, now on behalf of P[eter],<sup>1</sup> my relative, abbot of Saint Maxent, entreating your subliminity, and most humbly prostrated at your footstool, I continue the request; so that your mercy will piously restore to my most cherished one the use of his order and the full power of ministering, desiring to desire your arrival here at God's pleasure and ours, but most ready to show all the devotion of a humble and faithful servant to you whether you are absent or present. For all the sons of the Church may divine mercy keep the father safe.

No. 25.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: (Dom) Luc D'Achery, Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis, maxime Benedictorum latuerant,  
spicilegium (13 vols.; Paris: [n.p.], 1655-1677), ii.452-453.

Date: 1163.

To her dearly beloved lord, Hyacinth,<sup>2</sup> by the grace of God

<sup>1</sup> Peter Raymond, abbot of Saint Maxent 1134-c1164. He was a monk of Cluse, a monastery in Piedmont, and a relative of Eleanor, perhaps a son of the count of l'Isle-Jourdain, a grandson of William III, count of Toulouse, Eleanor's ancestor. The facts of his dismissal as abbot of Saint Maxent are unknown (Alfred Richard, "Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Saint Maixent l'abbaye," Archives historiques du Poitou, 16(1886), lxxix-lxxx).

<sup>2</sup> Hyacinth Bobo, cardinal-deacon of Saint Mary in Cosmedin (1141-1191),

Ecclesie diacono cardinali, Alienor, regina Anglie, salutem et debitum dilectionis officium. Non est enim aut novus aut dubius vestre favor excellentie, si semper habitus semper exhibitus, nec remitti novit nec intermitti. Gaudeo in tanta persona, tantum me habere et habuisse amicum. Cuius solius auctoritate et diligentia me quelibet et quantalibet negotia suo valeant laetari per ventu. Testantur enim littere vestre, et litteris vestris mea testatur conscientia vos ex proposito ad honorem meum et meam plurimum intendere magnificentiam. Ego quod sum, possum, totam mentem meam, omnes facultates mee vobis devote, fideliterque expono. Spero autem et plurimum desidero vestrum in partes istas adventum, quem si Deus meus prestiterit, vobis serviendi, et affectus mei sinceritatem exsequendi, copiam habebo pleniorem. Interim si que in his locis sunt, aut reperiri possunt, que vestre placeant maiestati, agnita vestra super his voluntate tam laeta de mandato, quam devota in obsequio, ea vobis mittere non differam. Preterea fratri carissimo, consanguineo meo, P., Sancti Maxentii abbati, precor et supplico, ut pro mea in vobis confidentia, pro vestra etiam erga me benolentia (sic), ordinis sui usum, et liberam ministrandi potestatem, ei a domino papa vestra impetrat dignatio. Valeat caritas vestra in Christo.

cardinal-deacon of the Holy Roman Church, Eleanor, queen of England, greetings and the due deference of love. Indeed, the favour of your excellence is neither new nor uncertain; if it is always possessed it is always shown; it knows neither rejection nor interruption. I rejoice in such a person; I rejoice to have and to have had such a friend. By his sole authority and by my diligence, each and every matter can rejoice in its conclusion. Indeed, your letters bear witness and my awareness of your letters bears witness that you purposefully increase my honour and my magnificence very much. I devoutly and faithfully offer you what I am, what I can, my whole mind, and all my powers. But I await and greatly desire your arrival here, and if God grants it, I will have a greater opportunity of serving you and carrying out the sincerity of my affection. Meanwhile, if there are or can be found here things which please your majesty, when your will is known I, both happy in command and devoted in compliance, will not delay to send them to you. Moreover, according to my confidence in you according to your benevolence towards me, I pray and beseech that your honour might obtain from the lord pope for my dearly beloved brother, my relative, P[eter], abbot of Saint Maxent, the use of his order and the free power of ministering. May your charity be strong in Christ.

No. 26.

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later Pope Celestine III (1191-1198). See documents nos. 40, 41, and 42.

[Universis presentes litteras inspecturis, officium curie  
 Pictavensi, salutem in Domino. Noveritis nos quasdam litteras  
 illustris regine A. Anglorum, et ducissa Aquitanorum et Normannorum  
 et comitissa Andegavorum, vidisse et inspecxisse, non cancellatas,  
 non abolitas, nec in aliqua parte earum mutantes, et sigillo suo  
 sigillatas, formam istam continentes:] A[lienordis], regina Anglorum,  
 et ducissa Aquitanorum et Normannorum, et comitissa Andegavorum,<sup>1</sup>  
 archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiis,<sup>2</sup>  
 ballivis, prepositis, et omnibus fidelibus regis et suis tocius  
 Aquitanie, salutem. Sciatis dominum meum<sup>3</sup> regem et me et Ricardum,  
 filium meum, pro salute nostra et antecessorum nostrorum, et pro  
 anima comitis Patricii, qui in nostro servicio mortuus fuit,  
 dedisse et concessisse ecclesie Beat Hylarii omnes consuetudines

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<sup>1</sup> Andegavensium (B).      <sup>2</sup>iusticiariis (B).

<sup>3</sup>Written above the line in the vidimus.

Original: Lost.

Copy: Poitiers. Archives de la Vienne. Fonds de Saint-Hilaire,  
Benassai, no. 41. A vidimus of 3 April 1257.

Printed Copy: Léopold Victor Delisle, Recueil des actes de Henri II,  
roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie (3 vols.; Paris:  
Imprimerie national, 1916-1927), i.425-426.

Also in: Jean Besly, Histoire des comtes de Poictou et ducs  
de Guyenne (Paris: G. Alliot, 1647), 498-499, preuves.

Date: c1168-1170.

[To all who may view the present letter, the office of the court of Poitiers, greetings in the Lord. Know that we saw and inspected a certain letter of the illustrious Queen Eleanor of England, duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, not cancelled or destroyed or changed in any part of it, and sealed with her seal, containing this form (i.e., these terms):] Eleanor, queen of England, and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, barons, justices, bailiffs, provosts, and to all the faithful of the king and herself of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known my lord the king and myself and Richard, my son, for the good of ourselves and our ancestors, and for the soul of the Earl Patrick,<sup>1</sup> who was killed in our service, have given and conceded to the church of Saint Hilary all customs which

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<sup>1</sup>Patrick, earl of Salisbury, was created earl probably after July 1143 by the Empress Matilda, Henry's mother. He frequented Henry's court (Cokayne, xi.376).

quas habebamus in curte de Benacayo<sup>1</sup> et pertinenciis suis, eo retento  
 quod, pro garda et defensione<sup>2</sup> coloni illius curtis et terre, pro<sup>3</sup>  
 iugo boum arancium terram illam .XII. denarios Andegavenses,<sup>4</sup> pro iugo  
 asinorum .VI. denarios Andegavenses<sup>4</sup> dabunt.<sup>5</sup> Exartarius pro poss-  
 orio<sup>6</sup> .III. denarios Andegavenses<sup>8</sup> dabit. Si vero rusticus habuerit  
 .III.<sup>9</sup> boves vel tres asinos vel iumentum et duos boves cum quibus  
 aret, pro uno animali nichil dabit, eo excepto quod, si iumentum vel  
 roncinus per se fecerit aratrum, tunc tantumdem dabit quantum et iugum  
 boum. Pro hiis autem denariis homines illius terre liberi erunt ab  
 omni consuetudine et talliata<sup>10</sup> et cavalcata<sup>11</sup> et bianno et omni exac-  
 tione prepositorum et ballivorum et servencium nostrorum, et omni sub-  
 monicione eorum et districtione et iusticia, eo retento quod, quando  
 dominus Pictavensis pugnaturas exibit, tunc tantummodo sequentur eum  
 homines illius terre, quando videlicet submoniti fuerint a canonicis  
 Beati Hylarii. Preterea<sup>12</sup> si illi convicti fuerint prefatam cosdumam<sup>13</sup>  
 infra octabas<sup>14</sup> Beati Michaelis non redidisse, vel alio modo forisfe-  
 cisse, unum<sup>15</sup> gagium nobis vel servientibus nostris debeant donare,  
 nomine gagii<sup>16</sup> non dabunt nisi .VII. solidos et .VI. denarios. Si vero

<sup>1</sup> Beneciaco (B).      <sup>2</sup> defensione (B).      <sup>3</sup> et pro (B).

<sup>4</sup> Andegavensium (B).      <sup>5</sup> dabit (B;D); next sentence omitted in Delisle.

<sup>6</sup> fossorio (B).      <sup>7</sup> <sub>3</sub> (B).      <sup>8</sup> Omitted in Besly.

<sup>9</sup> duos (B).      <sup>10</sup> tallita (B).      <sup>11</sup> calvacata (B).

<sup>12</sup> Omitted in Delisle.      <sup>13</sup> costumam (B).      <sup>14</sup> octavas (B).

<sup>15</sup> unde (D).      <sup>16</sup> guagii (B).

we used to have in the court of Benassai and its appurtenances, holding back from them for the safekeeping and defence of that settlement, court and land, for a jugate<sup>1</sup> of oxen plowing the land they will give twelve pennies Angevin, for a jugate of asses six pennies Angevin. The cultivator will give for his plow four pennies Angevin. If a farmer has three oxen or three asses or a mare and two oxen with which he plows, he will give nothing for one animal, unless the horse or nag plowed land for him, then to the same extent he will give as much, and a jugate of oxen. Moreover, for these pennies the men of that land will be free from all custom, tolls, chevauchee, and labour service, and from all exaction of the provosts and bailiffs and our servants, and of all of their summonses and jurisdiction and justice, with the reservation that when the lord of Poitou shows himself about to fight, then only the men of that land need to follow him, when, that is, they will have been summoned by the canons of Saint Hilary. Moreover, if they will have been convicted of not having given the aforesaid custom later than the octave of Saint Michael, or have forfeited in another way, they ought not to give anything by way of a pledge to us or to our servants other than seven sous and six pennies. If a farmer will have said that he had paid the custom properly, or has the peace of our ministers in respect thereof, he will be believed by his unsupported oath. The men of Saint Hilary will take from the woods of Saint

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<sup>1</sup>Placed side by side; yoked together (Oxford English Dictionary).

rusticus dixerit se cosdumam<sup>1</sup> recte solvisse, vel pacem ministrorum  
 nostrorum inde habere, plano eius sacramento credetur. De memoribus  
 Beati Hylarii accipient homines Beatii Hylarii ad communem usum suum,  
 et pascua<sup>2</sup> habent<sup>3</sup> tam in memoribus quam in terra plana;<sup>4</sup> canonici  
 vero habent<sup>3</sup> nemora illa ad omnem usum suum et ad usum ecclesie, et  
 habebunt in eis forestagium et pasnagium, et cetera omnia que ante-  
 cessores eorum habuerunt<sup>5</sup> temporibus comitum Pictavensium, ita quod  
 neque vendent neque donabunt. Preterea ipsi canonici habebunt tantum  
 terre illius quantum poterunt excolere<sup>6</sup> tria iuga boum sine omni con-  
 suetudine. Pro hac autem<sup>7</sup> libertate et consuetudine a nobis concessa,  
 canonici ecclesie<sup>7</sup> Beati Hylarii singulis annis sollempniter celebra-  
 bunt nostrum anniversarium, post nostrum a seculo discessum; similiter,  
 anniversarium comitis Patricii celebrabunt. Hanc autem donacionem et  
 concessionem inminutam et firmam precepimus teneri et conservari, et,  
 ex voluntate et mandato domini mei regis et Ricardi filii mei, sigilli  
 mei auctoritate communio et confirmo. Teste[s]: Iohanne, episcopo  
 Pictavensi; et Symone de Tornebu; et Hugone, vicecomite Castri Ayraudi;  
 et Radulpho de Faia; et Ricardo de Canvilla; et Saldebrolio; et Arveo  
 panetario; et Iohanne, cantore Beati Hylarii; et Reginaldo, magistro  
 scolarum; et magistro Meschino, priore Beate Radegundis; et magistro  
 Bernardo; et Petro, capellano meo. Apud Pictavim. [Quoniam supra-

<sup>1</sup> costumam (B).      <sup>2</sup> pacem (D).      <sup>3</sup> habebunt (D;B).

<sup>4</sup> plana terra (B).      <sup>5</sup> habebant (D;B).      <sup>6</sup> excolere potuerint (B).

<sup>7</sup> Written above the line in the vidimus.

Hilary wood to their full use and they will have pasturage both in the woods as well as in the cleared land; certainly the canons will have that wood to all its use and to the use of the church, and they will have forest service and pannage, and all other things which their ancestors used to have at that time from the counts of Poitou, on the condition that they may not sell or give it away. Moreover, those canons will have as much of that land as they are able to cultivate with three jugates of oxen free of all dues. For this liberty and custom conceded by us, the canons of the church of Saint Hilary will solemnly celebrate each year our anniversary, after our death; similarly, they will celebrate the anniversary of the Earl Patrick. We instruct this gift and concession to be held and maintained firm and unweakened, and by the wish and demand of my lord the king and my son Richard, I strengthen and confirm it by the authority of my seal. Witnesses: John, bishop of Poitiers;<sup>1</sup> and Simon of Thornham; and Hugh, viscount of Chatellerault; and Ralph of Faye; and Richard of Camville and Saldebreuil and Harvey the butler; and John, chantor of Saint Hilary; and Reginald, master of the schools; and master Meschin, prior of Saint Radegund; and master Bernard;<sup>2</sup> and Peter, my chaplain. At Poitiers. [Because we saw and read and made a copy accurately and carefully of the aforesaid, we have ordered the seal of the court of Poitiers appended to the present

<sup>1</sup> John of Bellesmains, elected 1162. He later became archbishop of Lyon (d.1181).

<sup>2</sup> Richard, Poitou, ii.170n3, suggested that this may have been Bernard of Ventadour.

dictam vidimus et legimus et scribi fecimus fideliter et diligenter,  
in cuius rei testimonium presentibus litteris sigillum curie Picta-  
viensis duximus apponendum. Datum die Marcis ante Pascha anno Domini  
M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>mo</sup> sexto.]

{Universis presentes litteras inspecturis,<sup>1</sup> officium curie  
Pictavensi eternam in Domino salutem. Noveritis quod nos vidimus et  
diligenter inspeximus quasdam litteras sigillo A., regine Anglorum  
quondam et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie et comitisse Andegavie,  
sigillatas prout prima facie apparebat in hec verba:] A[lienora],  
regina Anglorum et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie et comitissa Ande-  
gavie, senescallo, iusticiis et ballivis et omnibus ministris regis  
et suis tocios Aquitanie, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et  
presenti carta confirmasse Gaufrido Berlandi et heredibus suis in

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<sup>1</sup>Written above the line.

letter. Dated the day of March before Easter in the year of the Lord 1257.

No. 27.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: Poitiers. Archives de la Vienne. Couvents des femmes, l. 968, H liasse 68. A vidimus of 14 March 1264.

Printed Copy: E. Audouin, "Recueil de documents concernant la commune et la ville de Poitiers," Archives historiques du Poitou, 44(1916), 39-40.

Date: 1169-1173.<sup>1</sup>

[To all who may view the present letter, the office of the court of Poitiers, greetings in the Lord eternal. Know that we saw and carefully inspected a certain letter with the seal of Eleanor, the late queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, sealed, just as it appeared prima facie in these words:] Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the seneschal, justices and bailiffs and to all the ministers of the king and herself of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known that I have conceded and confirmed by the present charter to Geoffrey Berland and his heirs

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<sup>1</sup>Richard, who is mentioned as also conceding the grant, became duke of Aquitaine associated with Eleanor in 1169. She returned to England in 1173 and did not visit Aquitaine again until 1185. By that time the first witness, Manasser Bisset, was dead (d.1177). The charter must therefore belong to the period 1169-1173.

perpetuum omnes libertates et libertas<sup>1</sup> consuetudines suas in vendis  
 et empcionibus et pedagiis et in omnibus aliis rebus, excepto exercitu  
 et expeditione et talliata; nec pro preposito vel pro aliquo ballivo  
 nisi pro solo senescallo in expeditione vel exercitu eat; neque alicui  
 ballivo nostro de aliquo respondeat, nisi domino meo regi et michi  
 et senescallo nostro. Has eciam predictas libertates et liberas con-  
 suetudines concessit eidem G. et heredibus suis Richardus filius meus.  
 Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predictus Gaufridus et heredes  
 sui in perpetuum habeant et teneant omnes istas libertates et consue-  
 tudines, ita bene et in pace et honorifice et libere et quiete, sicut  
 iam predictum est, et prohibeo ne quis super hoc eidem G. vel heredi-  
 bus suis iniuriam vel contumeliam aliquam inde ferat. Testibus:  
 Manassero Bisi, dapifero regis; Radulfo de Faia; Joscelino de  
 Ballolio; Guillermo de Lanvaleio; apud Chinonum. [In cuius rei  
 testimonium presentis litteris sigillum curie Pictavensi duximus  
 appondendum. Datum (?)<sup>2</sup> die Sabbati ante lecare Therusalem, anno  
 Domini millesimo CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>mo</sup> quarto.] .

<sup>1</sup>liberas (A). .

<sup>2</sup>Two illegible words on the MS.

forever all liberties and free customs in selling and buying and tolls paid by travellers and in all other things, excepting military service, escort duty, and the taille (tax); nor may he go on military service or escort duty for the provost or for any bailiff, but for the seneschal alone; nor will he answer to any bailiff of ours, but to the king my lord and to me and to our seneschal. Likewise, my son Richard conceded the aforesaid liberties and free customs to the same Geoffrey and his heirs. Wherefore I wish and firmly order that the aforesaid Geoffrey and his heirs may have and hold forever all those liberties and customs, provisionally and honourably and freely and quietly, just as it is now proclaimed, and I forbid anyone to do an injury or any abuse over this with that same Geoffrey or his heirs.

Witnesses: Manasser Bisset, the king's steward;<sup>1</sup> Ralph of Faye; Joscelin of Baillol; William of Lanvalai.<sup>2</sup> At Chinon. [In testimony of this thing we have ordered the seal of the court of Poitiers appended to the present letter. Dated at (?) the Sunday before mid-Lent in the year of the Lord 1264.]

No. 28.

Original: Blois. Archives de Loir-et-Cher.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry's steward from 1153 to Christmas 1170; he died in 1177 (Powicke, 73).

<sup>2</sup> Audouin notes that Alfred Richard mistakenly assumed this man to be William of Louneuil (E. Audouin, "Recueil de documents concernant la commune et la ville de Poitiers," Archives historiques du Poitou, 44(1916), 40n4).

<sup>3</sup> Charles Métais, "Cartulaire saintongeais de La Trinité de Vendôme,"

A[lienora], regina Anglorum et ducissa Aquitanorum et Normanorum  
et comitissa Andegavorum, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comi-  
tibus, baronibus, senescallis, prepositis, baillivis et omnibus fidel-  
ibus regis et suis tocius Aquitanie, salutem. Sciatis quod ego et  
Ricardus filius meus volumus, concedimus, atque precipimus quod prior  
Sancti Aniani et homines sui de maresio Sancti Aniani teneant et  
possideant maresium suum libere et quiete, reddendo iustas et anti-  
quas consuetudines, que fuerunt tempore patris mei et antecessorum  
meorum. Et si Radulphus de Faia sive alii senescalli vel baillivi  
aliquas exactiones aut iniustas consuetudines, salem eorum capiendo,  
eis imposuerunt, omnino cassentur et cessent, nec amplius exigantur,  
ita quod predictus prior et homines sui in pace teneant et possideant  
suum maresium, ad illas iustas et antiquas consuetudines, que iurata  
fuerunt a nostris servientibus, et ab antiquis et legitimis hominibus  
terre illius in curia nostra coram Radulfo de Faia, tunc senescallo  
nostro. Testibus: Iohanne, comite Vindocinensi; Radulfo de Faia,

Printed Copy: (Abbé) Charles Métais, "Cartulaire saintongeais de La Trinité de Vendôme," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 22(1893), 114-115.

Date: 1170?<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, barons, seneschals, provosts, bailiffs and all the faithful of the king and herself of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known that I and Richard my son wish, concede, and decree that the prior of Saint Aignan and his men of the marsh of Saint Aignan may hold and possess their marsh freely and quietly, rendering the rightful and ancient customs, which they did in the time of my father and my ancestors. And if Ralph of Faye or any seneschal or bailiff imposed other exactions or unjust customs on them, taking their salt, it is annulled entirely and they will cease, nor may it be collected any more, on condition that the aforesaid prior and his men may hold and possess their marsh in peace according to those just and ancient customs, which were judged by our servants and by the elder and law-worthy men of that land in our court, in the presence of Ralph of Faye, then our seneschal. Witnesses: John, count of Vendôme;<sup>2</sup> Ralph of Faye, then

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Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 22(1893), 114.

<sup>1</sup> Lancelin, son of John, count of Vendôme, and one of the witnesses to this charter, died in 1189. The charter must therefore belong to the period of Eleanor's rule in Aquitaine before 1173 (Richard, Poitou, ii.153n3).

<sup>2</sup> John I, count of Vendôme (1135-1192).

tunc senescallo; Lancelino, filio predicti comitis; Petro, capellano;  
Jordano, clericu. Apud Chinoem.

A[lienora], regina Anglie et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie et  
comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus,  
iusticiis, prepositis, ballivis, ministris et omnibus fidelibus regis  
et suis totius Aquitanie, salutem. Sciatis quod ego, pro salute  
domini mei regis et mea filiorumque nostrorum atque patris mei et  
antecessorum meorum, necnon pro remedio nostrarum animarum, dedi et  
concessi et presenti carta confirmavi Domino Deo et ecclesie Beate  
Marie de Fonte Ebraudi, atque domui sue de Subsidiis, totam terram  
illam quam Guillotus Boardi in territorio Belleville sibi adquisierat  
et eidem ecclesie iam dudum donare disposuerat; quam videlicet terram  
illa via regia que dicit de Bella Villa ad Chesecum dividit et deter-  
minat. Concessi etiam domui predicte de Subsidiis, et fratribus  
atque sororibus ibidem Deo famulantibus, calfagium et usagium suum

the seneschal; Lancelin, son of the aforesaid count; Peter, the chaplain; Jordan, the clerk. At Chinon.

No. 29.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 329.

Date: 1170?

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, justices, provosts, bailiffs, ministers and all the faithful of the king and of herself of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known that, for the welfare of my lord the king and myself and of our sons as well as my father and my ancestors, moreover for the good of our souls, I gave and conceded and by the present charter confirmed to the Lord God and to the church of Saint Mary of Fontevrault, as well as to its house of Sossiz,<sup>1</sup> all the land which Guillot Board had acquired to himself up to the suburb of Belleville and which he had arranged to give to the same church for some time, namely that land which the royal road which goes from Belleville to Chizé divides and delimits. Likewise, I gave to the aforesaid house of Sossiz, and to the brothers and also the sisters who are servants of God in the same

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<sup>1</sup>Or, Sumsiz, or, Subsidiis.

ad domos suas faciendas in bosco de Argathum, sicut habuerunt tempore patris mei ac postea et sicut debent habere. Quare mando et firmiter precipio quod ecclesia de Fonte Ebraudi et domus eius de Subsidiiis et fratres atque sorores ibidem Deo servientes, habeant in perpetuum et teneant prenominata bene et in pace et honorifice et quiete, et prohibeo ne quis ballivorum vel prepositorum aut aliquorum aliorum aliquam inferat eis inde iniuriam vel contumeliam. Testibus: P., Engolismensi, P., Petragoricensi, episcopis; R[adulfus] de Faia, tunc senescallo Aquitanie; Willelmo Maingot; Gaufrido de Taunaio; Saldebroil constabulario; Petro, capellano; Jordano, clericu et notario. Apud Sanctum Iohannem Angeliacensem.

place, the right to gather fuel and wood for making their dwellings in the wood of Argenson, just as they had in the time of my father and afterwards and as they ought to have. Wherefore I order and firmly decree that the church of Fontevrault and its house of Sossiz, and the brothers and sisters serving God in the same place, may have forever and may hold the aforesaid provisionally and honourably and quietly, and I forbid any of the bailiffs or provosts or any others to bring injury or outrage in any degree to them. Witnesses: Peter, bishop of Angoulême;<sup>1</sup> and Peter, bishop of Périgueux;<sup>2</sup> R[alph] of Faye, then seneschal of Aquitaine; William Maingot; Geoffrey of Taunay; Saldebreuil the constable; Peter, the chaplain; Jordan, clerk and notary. At Saint-Jean-d'Angély.

No. 30.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. MS. nouvelles acquisitions latines 242. Cartulaire de l'abbaye cistercienne de la Merci-Dieu.

Printed Copy: Henri Clouzot, "Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame, diocèse de Poitiers, la Merci-Dieu," Archives historiques du Poitou, 34(1905), 78-79.

Date: 1170.

<sup>1</sup> Peter of Soneville (or Laumont), 1159-1178.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Mimet (1169-1182; d. 11 April 1182).

A[lienora], regina Anglie et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie et comitissa Andegavie, omnibus prepositis et baillivis et ministris et fidelibus regis et suis totius Aquitanie, salutem. Sciatis me filiumque meum Richardum dedisse et concessisse et presenti carta confir-  
masse abbatii et monachis de Misericordia Dei, omnes consuetudines suas de rebus suis omnibus, sicut ab hominibus suis facient assecurari quod ad suum et ecclesie sue sint proprium usum. Quare mando et firmiter precipio quod illas habeant in perpetuum bene et in pace et honorifice, et prohibeo ne quis super hoc eis iniuriam vel contumeliam aliquam inferat. Et [testibus hiis sunt:] Iohanne, Pictavensi epis-  
copo; Roberto, abbate de Nuiali; Petro archidiacono; Willelmo  
panet[ario]; Radulpho de Faia, tunc senescallo; Petro, capellano;  
Saldebroillio constabulario; Hervec panetario. Apud Pictavis.

A[lienora], regina Anglie, et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie et comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus,

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to all the provosts and bailiffs and ministers and faithful of the king and herself of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known I and my son Richard have given and conceded and by the present charter confirmed to the abbot and monks of La Merci-Dieu, all their customs of all their possessions, just as they were caused to be assured by their men that they might be to the proper use of them and their church. Wherefore I order and firmly decree that they may have those things forever fully and honourably, and I forbid anyone to do an injury or any outrage to them over this. And [the witnesses to these things are:] John, bishop of Poitiers; Robert, abbot of Noaillé; Peter the archdeacon; William the butler; Ralph of Faye, then seneschal; Peter, the chaplain; Saldebreuil the constable; Harvey the steward. At Poitiers.

No. 31.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: Poitiers. Bibliothèque. Collection de Dom Fonteneau, xxv.181.

Printed Copy: (Chanoine) J. L. Lacurie, Histoire de l'abbaye de Maillezais, depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours, suivie du  
pièces justificatives la plupart inédits (Fontenay-le-Comte:  
E. Fillon, 1852), 271, preuves.

Date: 1171-1173.

Eleanor, queen of England, and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts,

baronibus, iusticiis, ballivis, ministris et omnibus fidelibus regis  
 et suis totius Aquitanie, salutem. Sciatis me filiumque meum Ricardum  
 concessisse et presenti charta confirmasse Malliacensi ecclesie,  
 abbati et monachis ibidem famulantibus, plenarie totum minagium de  
 Maille in perpetuum sibi tenendum, habendum et possidendum. Quare  
 mandamus et similiter precipimus quatinus ecclesia predicta, predictus  
 abbas et monachi, illud totum habeant minagium et possideant in per-  
 petuum bene, honorifice, plenarie et quiete, ita quod nullus audeat  
 vel presumat super calumpniam vel iniuriam ei aliquam inferre.

Testibus: A., comite de Marchia; Radulfo de Faia, tunc senescalco<sup>1</sup>  
 Pictavie; Porreclia; Willelmo Maingot; Willelmo, vicecomite Castri  
 Eraudi; Soldebrorio constabulario; Petro de Monte Rab; Maingaudo de  
 Metulo; Herveo panetarie; Bernardo de Calviniaco. Apud Pictaviam  
 in capella. . . .

A[lienora], regina Anglie et ducissa Aquitanie et Normannie et  
 comitissa Andegavie, senescallo Pictavensi et omnibus prepositis,

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<sup>1</sup> senescallo.

barons, justices, bailiffs, ministers and all the faithful of the king and herself of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known that I and my son Richard have conceded and by this present charter confirmed to the church of Maillezais, the abbot and the monks of the house there, all the toll on corn of Maillé to hold, have and possess forever. Wherefore we order and similarly direct that the aforesaid church, the aforesaid abbot and monks may have all the toll on corn and possess it forever thoroughly, honourably, fully and quietly, so that none may dare or presume to do anything to them because of injury or calumny. Witnesses: Audebert, count of La Marche; Ralph of Faye, then seneschal of Poitou; Porteclie [of Mauze]; William Maingot; William, viscount of Chatellerault;<sup>1</sup> Saldebreuil the constable; Peter of Montrevault; Maingot of Melle; Harvey the butler; Bernard of Chauvigny. At Poitiers in the chapel. . . .

No. 32.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 135-136.

Date: 1172?

Eleanor, queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine and Normandy and countess of Anjou, to the seneschal of Poitou and to all the

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<sup>1</sup> Son of Hugh, viscount of Chatellerault. He died before 1188.

baillivis, ministris et fidelibus suis Rochellae et totius Aquitanie, salutem. Sciatis me filiumque meum Ricardum dedisse et concessisse, et presenti carta confirmasse, Deo et ecclesie et monialibus de Fonte Ebraldi, Petrum de Roffeco, quietum omnino ab exercitu et equitatione, questa, prestito et omni exactione; et omnes sue proprie res ab omni consuetudine penitus sint quiete, nisi forte ad hoc emerit ut revendat. Et ipse per singulos annos dabit predictis monialibus centum solidos Pictavenses, festo Beati Hilarii annuatim reddendos. Et ideo volo, mando et firmiter precipio quod ille moniales habeant Petrum iam dictum ita quietum, sicut carta domini mei regis et mea testantur; et prohibeo ne quis nostrum faciat eis iniuriam vel contumeliam. Testibus: Radulfo de Faia, tunc senescallo Pictavensi; Fulcone de Mastacio; Porteclia; Willemo de Lonnaleio; Iohanne de Espinat. Apud Chinon.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et Aquitanie

provosts, bailiffs, ministers and her faithful of La Rochelle and of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known I and my son Richard have given, conceded, and confirmed by the presented charter, to God and to the church and nuns of Fontevrault, Peter of Ruffec, quit entirely of military service, escort duty, and quête, and levy and all exaction; and all his own property may be completely quit of all custom, unless he buys something in order to sell it. And he will give each year to the aforesaid nuns one hundred Poitevin sous, to be collected annually at the feast of Saint Hilary. And therefore I wish, order and firmly direct that the nuns may have the aforesaid Peter quit in this manner, just as the charter of myself and my lord the king proves witness; and I forbid anyone of ours to do any injury or outrage to them. Witnesses: Ralph of Faye, then seneschal of Poitou; Fulk of Matha; Porteclie [of Mauzé]; William of Louneuil; John of l'Epine. At Chinon.

No. 33.

Original: Angers. Archives de Maine-et-Loire.<sup>1</sup>

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 330-331.

Date: 1183-1186.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 331.

comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopo Burdegalensi, episcopis, abbatibus,  
comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitibus, prepositis et aliis baillivis et  
fidelibus suis tocius Aquitanie, salutem. Sciatis me, assensu et  
voluntate domini mei Henrici, regis Anglie, et Ricardi, Galfridi et  
Iohannis, filiorum meorum, dedisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse  
abbacie Fontis Ebraudi et monialibus ibidem Deo servientibus, reddi-  
tum centum librarum, in perpetuam elemosinam, in prepositura Pictavis,  
et in vineiam de Banaon, in ea precipue que recipitur apud Marcileium.  
Hanc donacionem et elemosinam feci pro salute anime domini mei regis,  
et pro salute anime mee et Ricardi filii mei et aliorum filliorum  
meorum et filiarum mearum et predecessorum meorum. Precipio itaque  
quod prefate moniales medietatem prescripte elemosine, scilicet mille  
solidos, libere et sine omni disturbance quiete annuatim percipient  
in vineia de Banaun, in ea videlicet que recipitur apud Marchileium,  
in festo Beati Martini hyemalis, et aliam medietatem, scilicet mille  
solidos, in prepositura Pictavensi predicto termino, per manus mini-  
strorum comitis qui vineiam et minagium annuatim sunt recepturi.  
Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod memorata abbacia Fontis Ebraudi  
et moniales in ea Deo servientes predictum redditum centum librarum  
habeant in libera et perpetua elemosina, et annuatim percipient bene

Normandy and Aquitaine, countess of Anjou, to the archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishops, abbots, counts, barons, viscounts, provosts and other bailiffs, and her faithful of all Aquitaine, greetings.

Be it known that, with the assent and wish of my lord Henry, king of England, and Richard, Geoffrey and John, my sons,<sup>1</sup> I have given and confirmed by this my present charter to the abbey of Fontevrault and to the nuns serving God in the same place, a rent of one hundred pounds in perpetual alms from the provostship of Poitiers and the vineyard of Benon, especially that which is received at Marcilly. I made this gift and alms for the good of the soul of my lord the king and for the good of my soul and of my son Richard and my other sons and my daughters and my predecessors. Therefore, I instruct that the aforesaid nuns may collect half of the prescribed alms, namely one thousand sous, freely and quietly, without any disturbance, from the vineyard of Benon, namely from that which is received at Marcilly, at the feast of Saint Martin in the winter, and the other half, namely one thousand sous, from the provostship of Poitiers at the aforesaid term, through the hands of the officials of the count, who receive annually the wine tithe and corn tax. Wherefore I wish and firmly instruct that the aforementioned abbey of Fontevrault and the nuns serving God there may have the aforesaid rent of one hundred pounds in free and perpetual alms, and may collect it

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<sup>1</sup>The omission of Henry the young king, the second son of Eleanor and Henry II, would indicate that the charter was issued after 1183, the year of the young king's death, and the inclusion of Geoffrey would indicate that the charter was issued before 1186, when he was killed.

et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et plenarie et honorifice, sicut  
 in hac carta mea determinatum est. Hiis testibus: Gaufrido de Tauni-  
 aco; Radulfus de Tauniaco; Chalon de Rocaforti; Herveo de Marulio;  
 Roberto de Monte Mirallo, senescallo Pictavensi; Iohanne de Resse;  
 Renmone de Resse; Petro filio Guidonis; Emerico filio Ivonis;  
 Stephano, senescallo Andegavensi; Hugone, vicecomite de Castroduni;  
 Hugone de Creissi;<sup>1</sup> Thoma Bardulfii; Rogerio, elemosinario domini  
 regis; Josberto de Precigne; Herveo, preposito de Montbason. Apud  
 Alencon.

Alianora, Dei gratia regina Anglie, domina Hybernii, ducissa  
 Normanie, Aquitanie, et comitissa Andegavie, omnibus ad quos presentes  
 littere pervenerint, salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra  
 nos concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse, verabili<sup>2</sup>  
 in Christo patri, Willelmo, Dei gratia Eliensi episcopo, omnes terra  
 et omnia tenementa que habuimus in villis de Upwell et Utwell, etc.  
 . . . Hiis testibus: Domino Natho<sup>1</sup> Wesill, senescallo nostro;  
 Willelmo de Senago; cum diversis aliis.

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<sup>1</sup> Treissi, as in the charter roll, is an error.

<sup>2</sup> venerabili.

securely, freely and quietly, wholly and fully and honourably, just as it is determined in this my charter. The witnesses to these things: Geoffrey of Taunay; Ralph of Taunay; Châlon of Rochefort; Harvey of Mareuil; Robert of Montmirail, seneschal of Poitou; John of Rex; Raymond of Rex; Peter fitz-Guy; Amaury fitz-Ivo; Stephen, seneschal of Anjou; Hugh, viscount of Chateaudun; Hugh of ?Cressac; Thomas Bardulf; Roger, almoner of the lord king; Josbert of Pressigny; Harvey, provost of Montbason. At Alençon.

No. 34.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. Public Record Office. Duchy of Lancaster 42/149, fo. 102.

Date: Between 31 December 1189 and 23 January 1197.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, lady of Ireland,<sup>2</sup> duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to all whom the present letter may reach, greetings in the Lord. Be it known to you all that we conceded and by this our present charter confirmed to the venerable father in Christ, William, by the grace of God bishop of Ely, all the lands and all the tenements that we had in the towns of Upwell and Utwell. . . . Witnesses to these things: The lord "Natho' Wesill," our seneschal; William of "Senago"; with

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<sup>1</sup> The dates of William of Ely's tenure as bishop of Ely.

<sup>2</sup> This title does not appear in any other document.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie humilis Iesu Christi ancilla,  
hominibus de Waltham et de Nesinges, salutem. Sciatis quod volumus et  
placet nobis et ratum habemus quod dominus rex filius meus concessit  
ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Waltham et canonicis regularibus ibidem Deo  
servientibus, manerium de Waltham cum predicta villa de Nesinges ad  
perpetuam firmam, sicut carta domini regis filii mei testatur. Quare  
precipio vobis quod humagia et fidelitatis faciatis abbati et canon-  
icis de Walth[am], sicut dominus rex filius meus per breve suum vobis  
mandavit. Teste: H[enrico] de Bernevall', senescallo nostro. Apud  
Cant[uariam].

divers others.

No. 35.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Harleian MS. 391, fo. 51v; Cotton MS. Tiberius C i X.

Date: c20 October 1189.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England and humble maid of Jesus Christ, to the men of Waltham and Nazeing, greetings. Be it known that we wish and it pleases us and we have ratified what the lord king my son conceded to the church of Holy Cross of Waltham and to the regular canons serving God in that place, the manor of Waltham with the aforesaid village of Nazeing firmly forever, just as it is bequeathed by the charter of the lord king my son. Wherefore I order you that you do homage and fealty to the abbot and canons of Waltham, just as the lord king my son ordered you through his writ. Witness: Henry of Berneval, our seneschal.<sup>2</sup> At Canterbury.

No. 36.

Original: Location unknown.

<sup>1</sup> Richard's grant was made on this date.

<sup>2</sup> Henry of Berneval had been one of the three men assigned to watch Eleanor during the various periods of her captivity from 1173 to 1189 (Pernoud, 189). Eleanor apparently bore him no rancor for this, for in the above charter he is termed "our seneschal," and later she gave him a gift (Pernoud, 246).

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et  
 Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavensis, . . .<sup>1</sup> Noveritis quod nos con-  
 cedimus et confirmamus omnes donationes et libertates olim concessas  
 per quoscumque predecessores nostros quondam Vasconie, dominos Odonem  
 sive Sancium et omnes alios, archiepiscopis Burdegalensibus, scilicet  
 tertiam partem camere, vende, monete Burdegalensis et tertiam partem  
 omnium teleonorum de boeys, et navim liberam ab omnibus teloneis a  
 Mauritania usque ad Lingonem; adicientes pro salute anime nostre et  
 omnium nostrorum, quod omnes Burdegalenses archiepiscopi canonicam  
 habeant libertatem, et quod nullus de nostris aut successorum nostro-  
 rum gentibus aut subditis vel ministris sive fidelibus, archiepisco-  
 porum Burdegalensium ecclesias, capellas, villas, domos, terras,  
 territoria, homines, possessiones, bona, et quascumque res alias, aut  
 suorum invadere, occupare, molestare, seu in aliquo gravare sive  
 damnificare audeat, nec nunc nec in perpetuum. Et quicumque aliquid  
 de premissis fecerit, archiepiscopi Burdigalenses sua autoritate<sup>2</sup>  
 talium malitiam sine cuiusquam requisitione arcere et cohibere

<sup>1</sup> Probably the salutatio was the following: Archiepiscopi Burdegalensis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, prepositis et aliis baillivis et fidelibus suis totius Aquitanie, salutem.

<sup>2</sup> auctoritate.

Printed Copy: Denis de Sainte-Marthe, Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa . . . (16 vols.; Paris: [n.p.] 1715-1785), ii.285.

Date: c1190?<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, . . .<sup>2</sup> Be it known that we concede and confirm all the gifts and liberties at any time conceded through whomsoever of our late predecessors, the lords of Gascony, Odo and Sancho and all others, to the archbishops of Bordeaux, namely a third part of court-fines, sales, mintage of Bordeaux, and a third part of all tolls on barges, and the ship free from all tolls from Mortain up to Langon; adding that, for the welfare of our soul and of our successors and predecessors, all of the archbishops of Bordeaux may have canonical liberty, and that none of our officers or those of our successors or our subjects or servants or faithful shall dare to molest, occupy or invade or in any way injure or condemn, either now or forever, the churches of the archbishops of Bordeaux, their chapels, towns, or any other things belonging to them or to their people. And whoever shall do any of the aforesaid things, the archbishops of Bordeaux by their own authority can prevent and confine the malice of evil men without any mandate. The witnesses

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<sup>1</sup> Richardson suggests 1203 (H. G. Richardson, "The Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine," English Historical Review, 79(1959), 208).

<sup>2</sup>The full protocol is lacking.

valeant. . . . His testibus: Helia, archiepiscopo Burdegalensi;  
Roberto de Corneani, senescallo Pictavensi; Martino Algay, senescallo  
Vasconie; Joscelino et Rampnulphis, capellanis nostris; et multis  
aliis. . . .

Ailianora, Dei gratia humilis Anglie regina, omnibus Christi  
fidelibus ad quos presentes littere prevenerint, salutem in nomine  
salutari. Audito quod karissimus filius noster, rex Anglie, detentus  
est ab Imperatore Romano, vovimus ad memoriam beati et gloriosi  
martyris, ut liberationem domini regis filii nostri possemus, eius  
intervenientibus meritis et precibus, optinere. Cum autem ob terre  
turbationem Cantuariensis civitas fossatis et muris et aliis pro-  
pugnaculis muniretur, omnesque ad hoc compellerentur, quidam homines

to these things: Helie, archbishop of Bordeaux;<sup>1</sup> Robert of "Corneani,"<sup>2</sup> seneschal of Poitou; Martin Algeis, seneschal of Gascony; Joscelin and Ralph, our chaplains; and many others. . . .

No. 37.

Original: Lost.

Copy: London. Public Record Office. Cartae Antiquae Rolls, C 49.

Printed Copy: Literae Cantuarienses, the Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, ed. J. Brigstocke Sheppard (3 vols.; London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1889), iii.379-380.

Date: 1193 or after.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, to all the faithful in Christ to whom these present letters may reach, greetings in the name of the Saviour. Hearing that our most cherished son, the king of England, is detained by the Roman Emperor,<sup>3</sup> we vowed to the memory of the glorious and blessed martyr<sup>4</sup> that we might be able to obtain the release of the lord king our son by the intervention of his merits and prayers. And since, because of the trouble in the land, the city of Canterbury was fortified with ditches and walls and other battlements, and everyone was compelled to this work;

<sup>1</sup> Helie I of Malemort (1188 to 19 March 1207).

<sup>2</sup> Richardson, EHR, 208, says this is Robert of Thornham.

<sup>3</sup> Henry VI (1190-1197).

<sup>4</sup> St. Thomas à Becket.

prioris et conventus ecclesie Cantuariensis, non de iure nec de consuetudine sed ad nostrarum precum instantiam, ibidem operati sunt. Nos itaque, diligentius attendentes libertates et immunitates ad prefatam ecclesiam et eius homines, ubicumque fuerint, pertinentes, monachis eiusdem ecclesie concessimus et promisimus quod operatio illa, quam urgens necessitas et nostra interventio inducebant eis vel hominibus eorum . . . non noceret, eorumque cartis et libertatibus que illi a multis regibus conf[erebant] . . . preiudicium non afferet. In huius vero rei testimonio presentes litteras sigillo nostro fecimus communiri. Testibus: H[ereberto], archidiacono eiusdem ecclesie; et magistro Petro Blesensi, Bathoiensi archidiacono. Apud Londonias.

Alianor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, universis Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis,<sup>1</sup> ad quos littere pervenerint, salutem et dilectionem in Christo, qui est salus omnium. Noverit universitas vestra quod, cum abbas Sancti Edmundi Sampson, et eiusdem loci venerabilis conventus tenerentur<sup>1</sup> nobis in .X. marcis auri pro fine quam cum domino rege Ricardo, filio

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<sup>1</sup>Dugdale omits the rest of the sentence.

<sup>2</sup>teneantur (D).

certain men of the priory and convent of the church of Canterbury worked also, not by right or custom but at our request. We, therefore, diligently considering the liberties and immunities pertaining to the aforesaid church and its men, wherever they may be, we concede and promise to the monks of that church that that work, which they were persuaded to do by the urgenc[e] of necessity and our intervention to them and their men . . . will not harm, and to their charters and liberties which were conf[erred] on them by many kings . . . will offer no prejudice. In this matter we made the witness of these present letters to be strengthened by our seal. Witnesses: Herbert, archdeacon of that church; and master Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath. At London.

No. 38.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Add. MS. 14847, fo. 40.

Printed Copy: William Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. J. Caley (6 vols.; London: Longman, 1817-1830), iii.154.

Date: c1193.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to all sons of Holy Mother Church whom this letter may reach, greetings and love in Christ, who is the saviour of all. Be it known to you all that, when Sampson was abbot of Saint Edmund's, the venerable convent in that place was obliged to pay us ten marks of gold for the fine

nostro, fecerant. Numorum et pecunie penuria laborantes,<sup>1</sup> aureum<sup>2</sup> calicem quam habebant, tresdecim marcas auri ponderantem, nobis in satisfactione obtulerunt. Nos autem .X. marcas que ad nos spectabant eis penitus condonantes, et residuas tres aureas marcas de nostra pecunia ementes et acquietantes, totum calicem eis dedimus in perpetuam elemosinam, pro intuitu caritatis et amore beati martiris; precipue autem pro salute karissimi filii nostri, regis Richardi: Ita tamen ne liceat predicte ecclesie monachis expendere neque ab ecclesia sua alienare calicem prenominatum.<sup>3</sup> Et quod hec rata sint, presens carta nostra confirmat. Teste me ipsa apud Westmonasterium; et magistro W. de Daummartin;<sup>4</sup> et magistro Radulfo<sup>5</sup> Nigro; et Henrico de London', carte presentis auctore; et Ricardo, elemosinario domine regine; et magistro Stephano de Sancto Edmundo; et abate de Waltham; et episcopo Elyensi, domini regis cancellario; et G. de Waueney.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> aurem calicem follows, crossed out in the MS., followed by the same phrase again.

<sup>2</sup> aurem (D).      <sup>3</sup> praememoratum (D).      <sup>4</sup> Damartin (D).

<sup>5</sup> Radulpho (D).

<sup>6</sup> Galfrido de Warrenn (D). This is a clear misreading; on the same page of the MS. (line 25) is Warrenn, but the name in question is definitely Waueney.

which they had made with the lord king Richard, our son. And their numbers suffering a lack of coins and money, they offered to us in satisfaction a gold chalice which they had, weighing thirteen marks of gold. But completely pardoning the ten marks which they owed to us, and compensating and acquitting from our money the remaining three marks of gold, we gave the whole chalice to them in perpetual alms, for the sake of charity and for love of the blessed martyr; especially, moreover, for the welfare of our most cherished son, King Richard: on condition that it is not permitted to the monks of the aforesaid church to pay out or to alienate the abovenamed chalice from their church. And in order that this may be ratified, our present charter confirms [it]. Myself as witness at Westminster; and master W. de Dammarin; and master Ralph Niger; and Henry of London, the author of the present charter; and Richard, the lady queen's almoner; and master Stephen of Saint Edmund's; and the abbot of Waltham;<sup>1</sup> and the bishop of Ely,<sup>2</sup> chancellor of the lord king; and Geoffrey of Wanchy.

No. 39.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Harleian MS. 391, fo. 50b-51b.

Printed Copy: The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20 Printed from the  
Original MSS. in the Public Record Office, ed. J. Conway Davies

<sup>1</sup>Walter of Ghent.

<sup>2</sup>William Longchamp.

Alienor, Dei gratia humilis regina Anglorum, omnibus fidelibus per regnum Anglie constitutis, salutem. Quoniam honori nostro condescens est nostre et etiam saluti est necessarium firmiter observare ea que condita sunt a venerabili principe, rege Henrico secundo, domino meo, pro salute sua et suorum, et a rege Henrico tercio et a rege Ricardo primo, filiis nostris, sunt concessa et cartis confirmata, propterea, sicut predictus Henricus, rex Anglorum, dominus meus, mutationem canonicorum secularium fecit in ecclesia nostra de Waltham, et congregacionem canonicorum regularium in eadem ecclesia ordinavit, sic et nos pro salute eorundem principum et nostra et omnium nostrorum omniumque fidelium, remotionem canonicorum secularium et institutionem canonicorum regularium in eadem ecclesiam factam, et cum eadem institutione, donationem ville de Siwardestune et ville de Eppinges cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, quam predictus princeps dominus meus eisdem canonicis fecit, et ab eodem principe et a prefatis regibus, filiis nostris, est confirmata, laudamus benigne,

(Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, new series, 33; London:  
J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1960), 52.

Date: c1193.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, to all  
the faithful settled through[out] the kingdom of England, greetings.  
Since it is befitting to our honour and also necessary to our welfare  
to observe firmly those things which were founded by that venerable  
prince, King Henry the Second, our lord, for the welfare of his [soul]  
and his heirs, and were conceded and confirmed by the charters of  
King Henry the Third<sup>2</sup> and King Richard the First, our sons, therefore,  
just as the aforesaid Henry, king of England, our lord, made an ex-  
change of secular canons in our church of Waltham and ordained a  
congregation of regular canons in that church, thus for the welfare  
of that prince and ourself and of all ours and all the faithful, it  
is fitting that we pronounce and concede and by this present charter  
confirm the removal of the secular canons and the institution of  
regular canons made in that church, and with that institution, the  
gift of the town of Siwardestun and the town of Eppings with all their  
appurtenances, which the aforesaid prince our lord made to those  
canons and was confirmed by that prince and by the aforesaid kings,

<sup>1</sup> Davies suggests 1196 (The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20 Printed from the Original MSS. in the Public Record Office, ed. J. Conway Davies (Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, new series, 33; London: J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1960), 52).

<sup>2</sup> Henry the young king (d.1183).

concedimus et hac presenti carta confirmamus. Preterea, confirmamus predictis canonicis villam de Waltham et villam de Nasinges cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, tenendas ad firmam in perpetuum pro .LX. libris per annum, sicut dominus rex Ricardus, filius noster, eis dedit et concessit et bona voluntate nostra confirmavit. Quare volumus quod prenominati canonici nostri omnes antenomimates villas cum omnibus suis pertinenciis habeant et teneant bene et in pace, libere et quiete, cum omni iure et servicio et omni consuetudine et cum omnibus libertatibus quas nos in toto predicto manerio de Waltham habuimus, in boscis et planis, in terris et hominibus, in pratis et pascuis, in molendinis et aquis, et omnibus aliis rebus, exceptis prenominatis .LX. libris, quas abbas predicti loci nobis annuatim de villa de Waltham et de Nesinges reddere debet. Testibus hiis: Hereberto, Cantuariensi archidiacono; magistro Isenberto; Jordano, clero; Willemo filio Aldelini; Radulfo filio Stephani; Ricardo Siluein; Willemo Seluein; Galfrido de Caritate; Galfrido de Wanci; Galfrido de Clermunt; Ricardo Walensi; Thoma de Sanderville; Ingelrando pincerna; Iohanne de Sanford'; et multis aliis. Apud Waltham.

our sons. Moreover, we confirm to the aforesaid canons the town of Waltham and the town of Nazeing with all their appurtenances to hold firmly forever for sixty pounds per year, just as the lord King Richard, our son, gave and conceded to them and confirmed with our good will. Concerning which we wish that the aforesaid our canons may have and hold all the abovenamed towns with all their appurtenances securely, freely and quietly, with all the rights and services and all customs and with all the liberties which we used to have in all the aforesaid manor of Waltham, in woods and fields, in lands and men, in meadows and pastures, in mills and wells, and in all other things, excepting the aforesaid sixty pounds, which the abbot of the aforesaid place ought to give us annually from the town of Waltham and from Nazeing. The witnesses to these things: Herbert, archdeacon of Canterbury; master Isambert; Jordan, the clerk; William fitz-Aldelin; Ralph fitz-Stephen;<sup>1</sup> Richard Silvein; William Silvein; Geoffrey of "Caritas"; Geoffrey of Wanchy; Geoffrey of Clermont; Richard of Wales; Thomas of Sanderville; Ingelran the butler; John of Sandford, and many others. At Waltham.

No. 40.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Foedera, conventiones, literae, . . ., comp. Thomas Rymer (18 vols.; London: A. & J. Churchill, 1704-1726), i.72-74.

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<sup>1</sup> Another of Eleanor's 'jailers' during her captivity (1173-1189).

Reverendo patri et domino Celestino, Dei gratia summo pontifici,  
 A[lienor], in ira Dei regina Anglorum, ducissa Normannie, comitissa  
 Andegavensis, misere matri exhibere se patrem.

Silere decreveram, ne insolentie et presumptionis arguerer, si  
 forte adversus principem sacerdotum verbum aliquod minus cautum abun-  
 dantia cordis, et vehementia doloris eliceret. Sane non multum ab  
 insania differt dolor dum in impetu sue accensionis est. Dominum  
 non agnoscit, socium non veretur. Nec defert, ne parcit alicui, sed  
 nec tibi.

Nemo ergo miretur si verborum modestiam vis doloris exasperet;  
 iacturam inim plango publicam. Sed et familiaris dolor in spiritus  
 mei precordis inconsolabiliter radicavit. Sagitte nempe Domini in  
 me sunt, quarum indignatio ebbit spiritum meum. Gentes divulse,  
 populi lacerati, provincie desolate, et generaliter tota occidentalis  
 ecclesia, confecta lamentis, in spiritu contrito et humiliato suppli-  
 cant vobis, quem constituit Deus super gentes et regna in omni pleni-  
 tudine potestatis.

Afflictorum quaeso clamor introeat in aures vestras, calami-  
 tates enim nostre miltiplate sunt super numerum. Nec ista dissim-  
 ulare potestis citra criminis et infamie notam, cum sitis vicarius  
 Crucifixi, successor Petri, sacerdos Christi, Christus Domini, Deus  
 etiam Pharaonis.

Date: 1193.

To the reverend father and lord Celestine, by the grace of God pope, Eleanor, by the wrath of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy, countess of Anjou, show himself father to an unhappy mother.

I have decided to keep silent lest I be accused of insolence and presumption, if perchance the fullness of my heart and the severity of my grief elicit some word less than cautious against the prince of priests. My grief does not differ greatly from insanity when it is inflamed in its vehemence. It does not recognize its Lord, nor does it respect his ally. It does not have any regard for nor does it show mercy to another, not even to you.

Therefore, let no one wonder if the strength of grief roughens the propriety of words; indeed, I bewail the public sacrifice. But family grief is rooted inconsolably in the heart of my spirit. Surely the arrows of the Lord are in me, the indignation of which drinks my spirit dry. Scattered tribes, ruined peoples, desolated provinces, in general the whole western church, exhausted with laments, beseeches you in a contrite and humiliated spirit, you whom God has set over peoples and kingdoms in the complete fullness of power.

O please that the cry of the afflicted enter your ears, for indeed our calamities have multiplied beyond number. Nor will you be able to dissemble these things short of the brand of crime and infamy, since you are the vicar of the Crucified, the successor of Peter, the priest of Christ, the anointed of the Lord, even the God of the Pharaoh.

De vultu tuo, pater, iudicium prodeat; oculi tui videant equitatem. De arbitrio vestro et de clementia vestre dedis pendent vota populi. Et nisi maturius arripiat manus vestra iudicium, tota redundabit in vos tragedia huius mali. Cum sitis pater orphanorum et iudex viduarum, merentium et dolentium consolator, et omnibus civitas refugii, in tanto cumulo miserarium, unicum et commune omnibus expectatur de vestre potestatis auctoritate solatum.

Filiī Israhel Moysen, cuius agitis vices, consultabant in duris, et ad Tabernaculum foederis configiebant in angustii suis. Rex noster in arcto est et undique angustie premunt eum. Videte statum aut potius casum regni, malitiam temporis, tyranni saevitiam, qui de fornace avaritie arma iniustitiae incessanter fabricat contra regem, quem in sancta peregrinatione in protectione Dei caeli et tuitione Romane Ecclesie captum, et vinculis carceralibus coarctatem tenet, occiditque terrendo. Contemnit enim Deum et terribilia iudicia eius. Prede incubat, et non est qui de manu eius possit eruere.

Si Ecclesia Romana complosis manibus ad tantas iniurias Christi silet, et exurgat Deus et iudicet causam nostram, respiciat in faciem Christi sui. Ubi est zelus Elie in Achab? zelus Ioannis in Herodem? zelus Ambrosii in Valentem? zelus Alexandri tertii, qui, sicut

From your face, O Father, let judgment come forth; let your eyes see justice. The wishes of the people depend on your judgment and on the clemency of your see. And unless your hand grasps the judgment quickly, the whole tragedy of this evil will overflow onto you. Since you are the father of orphans and judge of widows, the consoler of the mourners and the sorrowing, the city of refuge for all, in so great a heap of miseries, singular and universal solace for all is awaited from the authority of your power.

The sons of Israel consulted Moses, whose place you hold, in hardships, and they took refuge at the Tabernacle of the Covenant in their tribulations. Our king is in confinement and from all directions tribulations press him. See the condition or rather the fall of the kingdom, the malice of the times, the savageness of a tyrant, who ceaselessly fabricates against the king the arms of iniquity from the forge of avarice, who holds confined in prison chains the one captured on a holy journey in the protection of the God of Heaven and in the protection of the Roman Church, and kills [him] by terrifying. Indeed, he despises God and his terrible judgments. He watches jealously over his booty, and there is no one who can rescue [it?] from his hand.

If the Roman Church remains silent with hands tightly clasped to the so great injuries of the anointed, let God rise up and judge our cause, and look into the face of his anointed. Where is the zeal of Elijah against Ahab? the zeal of John against Herod? the zeal of Ambrose against Valens? the zeal of Alexander III, who, as we

audivimus et vidimus, patrem istius principus, Fredericum, plena auctoritate apostolice sedis solenniter et terribiliter a fidelium communione precidit? Porro tyrannus apostolicas claves habet ludibrio nec nisi verba reputat legem Dei.

Sed tanto constantius deberetis arripere gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei. Scriptum est enim, qui vos spernit, me spernit. Ideo si vestram non vultis aut Ecclesie Romane iniuriam persequi, vobis tamen dissimulare non licet Petri opprobrium et iniuriam Christi.

Non sit ergo alligatum in ore vestro verbum Domini, nec in vobis timor humanus obruat spiritum libertatis. Tolerabilius est incidere in manus hominum quam derelinquere legem Dei. Confidunt in virtute sua et in multitudine divitarum suarum gloriantur inimici crucis Christi, quorum finis interitus et gloria eorum in confusione.

Quicquid ecclesiarum (sic) et pauperum necessitati subtrahitur insatiabilis avaricie devorat ingluvies. Sed prope est ut in eos manus Domini tempestivam exerceat ultionem, et eveniet quod Beati Job de predone impio protestur: Divitias quas devoravit evomet et de ventre eius extrahet eas Deus. Luet que fecit omnia, nec tamen

have heard and seen, solemnly and terribly cut off Frederick,<sup>1</sup> the father of this prince,<sup>2</sup> from the communion of the faithful? Furthermore, a tyrant holds the apostolic keys in derision and reckons the law of God as only words.

But so much the more firmly should you lay hold of the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. Indeed, it has been written, he who rejects you, rejects me. Therefore, if you do not wish to punish your injury and that of the Roman Church, you will not be allowed to conceal the reproach of Peter and the injury of Christ.

The word of the Lord, therefore, should not be held fast in your mouth, nor should human fear in you overwhelm the spirit of liberty. It is more tolerable to fall into the hands of men than to abandon the law of God. The enemies of the cross of Christ rely on their strength and glory in the multitude of their riches, [but] their end is destruction and their glory is in confusion.

The insatiable gullet of avarice will devour whatever is drawn away from the needs of churches and the poor. But it is not far distant that the hand of the Lord will administer unto them the fitting revenge, and it will come to pass that which Saint Job declared concerning the impious plunderer: He will vomit out the riches he has devoured and God will draw them out of his belly. He will atone for all the things he has done, but he will not be destroyed. And if

<sup>1</sup> Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) excommunicated Frederick I (1152-1190) in 1165.

<sup>2</sup> Henry VI (1190-1197).

consumetur. Quod si ad tempus humanum evadunt iudicium, divinum terribilis est quod imminet eis. Quorum gaudium presens instar puncti, interminabilis vero poena ignis et vermis. Quis enim unquam persecutor innocentie ultricem illius manum qui aufert spiritum principum potentesque potenter punit legitur evasisse? Ut de poena taceam Gehennail, saepe legimus quomodo digitus Dei pro arbitrio suo regna et imperia transfert. Quas etiam sicut vult erigit et sicut vult deiicit potestates.

Non deterreat, quaeso, vos secularis elatio. Superbus est Moab et maior est superbia eius quam fortitudo ipsius. E contrario autem, nomen Domini plurima fortitudo.

Illud vero publice contristat ecclesiam populisque murmur excitat. Nec mediocriter militat in dispendium vestre opinionis quod, in tanto discrimine, in tot lacrymis, in tot provinciarum supplicationibus, nec unum nuncium ad principes illos a vestro latere destinatis.

Saepe, pro causis mediocribus, vestri cardinales, in magna potestate etiam, ad partes barbaras legatione funguntur. In causa vero tam ardua, tam lamentabili, tam communi, nec unum adhuc subdiaconum aut acolythum destinastis. Legatos enim hodie facit quaestus, non respectus Christi, non honor ecclesie, non regnum pax aut populi salus. Quis quaestus vobis aut proventus gloriosior posset esse quam, in hac liberatione regis, summi pontificis apicem, sive sacerdotium

for a time they avoid human judgment, more terrible is the divine judgment which threatens them. Their present joy lasts for a brief space of time, but the punishment by fire and worm is endless. What persecutor of the innocent is read to have evaded the avenging hand of him who destroys the spirit of princes and punishes mightily the mighty? To say nothing of the punishment of Gehenna, we have often read how the finger of God by his own judgment transfers kingdoms and empires. Moreover, he raises up the mighty as he wishes and he casts them down as he wishes.

Do not, I pray, let the exaltation of the world deter you. Moab is proud and its pride is greater than its strength. On the contrary, the name of the Lord is most powerful.

Indeed, it publicly saddens the church and the murmur stirs up the people. It is conducive in no small way to the loss of your reputation because, amidst so great peril, in so many tears, in the entreaties of so many provinces, you do not intend [to send] a single messenger from your side to those princes.

Often on behalf of mediocre cases, your cardinals, in great power indeed, busy themselves with a legation to uncivilized areas. Yet in a case so difficult, so lamentable, and so public, up till now you have sent not one subdeacon or acolyte. Today, indeed, profit makes legates, not reverence for Christ, not the honour of the church, not the peace of kingdoms or the salvation of the people. What profit or success could be more glorious for you than in the liberation of the king to exalt the tiara of the pope, or the priest-

Aaron et Phinees exaltare?

Sane non multum humiliasses Sedis Apostolice dignitatem si in propria persona ad tanti liberationem principis in Germaniam descendedisse. Quem enim tam officiose colebat in prosperis, tam desidiose deferere non debuit in adversis. Quare non appenditis in libra iustitie beneficia, que bone memorie Henricus, pater istius regis, vobis sicut vidimus in articulo summe necessitatis exhibuit; ut e diverso, tyrannidem Frederici, quam in vos et Ecclesie Romane possessiones et in omnes qui vobis fideliter adherebunt exercuit? Cum enim prenominatus Fredericus, fautor schismatice dissensionis et auctor, contra Alexandrum 3., canonice sicut scitis electum, in partem apostate Octaviani coniurasset, atque sub illi schismatis concussione generaliter ubique terrarum ecclesia laboraret, reges Francie et Anglie variis ex utraque parte legationibus tentabantur. Cumque sententia regis Francorum consiliorum varietate, cui faveret parti fluctuans dubia vacillaret, rex Henricus, dolens Christi tunicam diutius scindi, primus Alexandro pape consensit, multaque cautela trahens regem Francorum pariter ad consensum apostolicum suis munivit consiliis et firmavit auxiliis; et sic navem Petri, sub certo discrimini naufragavit.

hood of Aaron and Phineas?

Indeed, you will not have greatly demeaned the dignity of the Apostolic See if you have come down into Germany in person for the liberation of such a prince. Truly, him whom one revered so courteously in prosperity, one ought not to cast down so idly in adversity. Why do you not weigh out on the balance of justice the favours which Henry<sup>1</sup> of good memory, father of this king, showed to you in the moment of greatest need, as we have seen; as on the other hand, the tyranny of Frederick, which he exercised against you and the property of the Roman Church and against all those who adhered faithfully to you? Indeed, when the aforementioned Frederick, the encourager and author of the dissension of schism, conspired on behalf of the apostate Octavian<sup>2</sup> against Alexander III, canonically elected as you know, and everywhere generally the churches of the countries suffered under the blow of the schism, the kings of Francia and England were tempted by various legations from each side. And when the opinion of the counsellors of the king of the Franks vacillated in doubt, wavering as to which party he would favour, King Henry, grieving that the robe of Christ was so long divided, obeyed Alexander pope first, and influencing the king of the Franks by many devices equally to the consent of the Holy See, he strengthened his counsels and fortified his allies; and thus the ship of Peter, sailing certain

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<sup>1</sup> Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> Victor IV (Octavianus), anti-pope, 1159-1164.

gantem, in secura littoris statione locavit.

Hec apud Castrum Radulphi vidimus, ubi etiam Romanorum votis, sicut ipsi pro miraculo publice predicabant, plenioribus xeniis auri et argenti regia munificentia satisfecit.

Notabiliter igitur de honestat gloriam Sedis Apostolice quod aliqua unquam ingratitudo tanti beneficii memoriam potuit abolere. Quandoque poterit ex causa consimili--quod Deus avertat--schismatis pullulare fermentum, vestreque presentis desidie et defectus recordatio poterit tunc aliquibus cedere in singultum. Licet enim liberationem regis ille veteratus serpens, ille coluber tortuosus machinationibus prestigiosis impedit, confidimus tamen in Domino, quod tempestive respiciet in faciem christi et dabit imperium regi suo.

Expectatio siquidem nostra in spe certa et fide firma convaluit. Fit enim incessanter oratio ab ecclesia ad Deum pro eo. Deus autem, qui in tempore accepto exaudit et adiubat in die salutis, respiciet in orationes humilium et non spernet preces eorum. Multum enim valet deprecatio iusti assidua. Sol ad preces Iosue stetit et luna contra vallem Achilon non est mota. Quia iusti precibus obtinetur ut a corde peccatoris sol iustitie non recedat, et mens hominis, quamvis in defectum prona sit, virtutum tamen stabilitate firmatur. Non enim tantum remittitur oratione peccatum, sed et poena peccati

of shipwreck, he placed anchored on a secure shore.

We saw these things at Chateauroux,<sup>1</sup> where the royal munificence satisfied even the wishes of the Romans with fuller gifts of gold and silver, just as they were publicly proclaiming as a miracle.

Notably therefore it dishonours the glory of the Apostolic See that any ingratitude can ever wipe out the memory of such favour. Whenever the ferment of schism can sprout from a similar reason--which God forbid--the memory of your present inactivity and weakness can then bring some to tears. Although the snake full of turns and windings, the snake grown old, hinders with deceptive machinations the liberation of the king, we have confidence in the Lord, however, that he will soon look upon the face of the anointed and will give dominion to his king.

Our expectation becomes strong in undoubted hope and firm faith. Let there indeed be prayer unceasing by the church to God for him. May God, moreover, who hears at a welcome time and shows favour on the day of salvation, glance upon the prayers of the humble and not reject their entreaties. Indeed the untiring appeal of the just is very mighty. At Joshua's entreaties the sun stood still and the moon did not move against the vale of Achilon. The prayers of the just man keep the sun of justice from abandoning the heart of the sinner, and the mind of man, although inclined to weakness, is made strong by the stability of virtues. Not only is so great a sin remitted by prayer, but also the punishment for sin is avoided by the favour of

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<sup>1</sup> Henry II and Alexander met at Chateauroux in 1162.

declinatur beneficio precum.

Ideo bonum est regi prestolari cum silentio salutare Domini; nam si nunc in fornace tribulationis purgatus a Deo, qui circa eum adversa et prospera<sup>1</sup> saluberrima moderatione disponit, vexatio transibit in gloriam, atque pro confusione duplici et rubore in terra duplicita possidebit. Beatus itaque vir qui confidit in Domino, et erit Dominus fiducia eius. Sane sicut nunc ei publici gemitus et generales impenduntur lacryme, sic desideratus gentibus tempestive communibus excipietur votis in exultatione universe terre. Domine, in virtute tua exaltabitur rex, et Ecclesia Romana, que nunc nimis culpabiliter in eius liberatione lentescit, non sine lacrymis erubescet quod in tantis angustiis tantum filium non agnovit.

Reverendo patri et domino Celestino, Dei gratia summo pontifici, A[lienora], misera et utinam miserabilis Anglorum regina, ducissa Normannie, comitissa Andegavie, misere matri exhibere se misericordie patrem.

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<sup>1</sup> This word is obscured in the printed copy.

entreaties.

Therefore it is good for the king to wait in silence for the salvation of the Lord; for if he is cleansed now in the furnace of tribulation by God, who arranges adversity and prosperity around him with most salutary moderation, the hardship will pass over into glory, and he will possess twofold the land for the confusion of double-dealing and shame. Blessed indeed the man who trusts in the Lord, and the Lord will be his confidence. Just as now the sighs of the people and the tears of all are truly devoted to him, so the desires of the people are taken up at the right time by the common wish to the exaltation of all the earth. The king will rejoice in your strength, O Lord, and the Roman Church, which now slackens excessively blame-worthily in his liberation, will not blush without tears that in such trials she did not acknowledge so great a son.

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To the reverend father and lord Celestine, by the grace of God pope, Eleanor, miserable and would I were thought pitiable queen of England, duchess of Normandy, countess of Anjou, wishing the father of mercy to support a miserable mother.

Invidente locorum distantia prohibeor, beatissime papa, vobis presentialiter loqui. Necesse tamen est ut plangam paululum dolorem meum; et quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei? Tota interius et exterius anxior, unde et verba mea dolore sunt plena. Foris sunt timores intus pugne, nec ad momentum mihi respirare liberum est a tribulatione malorum et dolore a tribulationibus que invenerunt nos nimis. Tota dolore contabui, pellique mee consumptis carnibus, adhesit os meum. Defecerunt anni mei in gemitibus, et utinam omnino deficiant; utinam totus sanguis corporis mei iam emortui, cerebrum capitis ossiumque medulle ita dissolvantur in lacrymas, ut in fletus tota pereffluam. Avulsa sunt a me viscera mea; baculum senectutis mee et lumen oculorum perdidii. Meisque votis accederet si Deus infelices oculos meos, ne mala gentis mee ulterius videant, perpetua caecitate damnaret. Quis det mihi ut pro te moriar, fili me? Matrem tante miserie respice, misericordie Mater, aut si filius tuus, fons misericordie inexhaustus, peccata matris requirit a filio, ab ea que sola deliquit totum exigat, puniat impiam, et de poenis innocentis non rideat. Que cepit, ipse me conterat. Tollat manum suam et succidat me; et hec sit consolatio mea, ut affligens me dolore, non parcat. Ego misera et nulli miserabilis, cur in huius detestande senectutis ignominiam veni, duorum regnum Domina? Duorumque regem

I am prevented by distance, O most blessed pope, from speaking to you face to face. Nevertheless, it is necessary that I bewail my grief a little; and who may grant me that my words may be written? I am anxious all outside and inside, hence my words are full of grief. There are fears outside and conflicts within, nor do I have a moment free from the tribulation of evils and from the grief of tribulations which come too much to us. I am wasted away with all my grief, and my flesh having wasted away, my bone clings to my skin. My years run out in sighs, and would that they run out entirely; would that all the blood of my body might now pass away, my brain and the marrow of my bones dissolved in tears, that I might overflow all in weeping. My vitals are torn from me; I have lost the staff of my old age and the light of my eyes. And my wishes would be fulfilled if God would condemn my unhappy eyes to perpetual blindness, lest they see worse evils for my people. Who will allow me to die for you, my son? Look on a mother of such distress, Mother of mercy, or if your son, the unexhausted fountain of mercy, looks for the sins of the mother from the son, from her who alone has sinned may he demand everything, may he punish the sin, and not laugh at the pain of an innocent. Let he who wins, wear me away. May he raise his hand and cut me down; and let this be my consolation that, afflicting me with sorrow, he may not spare me. Why have I, miserable and by no one pitied, come to the disgrace of an execrable old age, the lady of two kingdoms? And I was the mother of two

mater extiteram.

Avulsa sunt a me viscera mea, generatio mea ablata est et convoluta est a me; rex iunior et comes Britannie in pulvere dormiunt, et eorum mater infelicissima vivere cogitur, ut irremediabiliter de mortuorum memoria torqueatur. Duo filii mihi supererant ad solatium, qui hodie mihi, misere et damnate, supersunt ad supplicium. Rex Richardus tenetur in vinculis; Ioannes frater ipsius regnum captivi depopulatur ferro et vastat incendiis. In omnibus versus est mihi Dominus in crudelem, et adversatur mihi in duritia manus sue. Vere pugnat ira eius contra me, ideo et filii mei pugnant inter se; si tamen pugna est, ubi unus vinculis arctatus affligitur, alius, addens dolorem super dolorem, ipsius crudeli tyrannide sibi regnum exulis usurpare molitur.

Bone Iesu! quis mihi tribuat ut in inferno protegas me et abscondas me, donec pertranseat furor tuus, donec cessent sagitte que in me sunt, quarum indignatione spiritus meus totus ebibitur? Mors in voto mihi est et vita in tedio. Et cum sic moriar incessanter, in desideriis tamen habeo mori plenius; vivere compellor invita, ut vita mihi sit pabulum mortis et materia cruciatus. O felices, qui, inexperti ludibria vite huius et inopinatos eventus conditionis certe, beato prevenerunt aborus. Quid facio? cur subsisto? quare moror

kings.<sup>1</sup>

My vitals are torn from me, my family is snatched away and is turned away from me; the young king and the count of Brittany<sup>2</sup> sleep in the dust, and their most unhappy mother is forced to live, that she may be tormented incurably by the memory of the dead. Two sons were left for my consolation, who survive today to my distress, I miserable and blamed. King Richard is held in chains; his brother John depopulates the captive's kingdom with the sword and ravages it with fires. The Lord is cruel toward me in everything, and his hand is turned against me in harshness. Truly his anger opposes me, and therefore my sons fight among themselves; even if it is fighting, when one is crushed confined by chains, [while] the other, adding sorrow upon sorrow, strives by cruel tyranny to usurp the exile's kingdom. Good Jesus! who will allow me to submerge myself in hell and hide, until your fury passes over, until the arrows in me cease, by whose indignation all my spirit is drained? Death is my wish and life my weariness. And while I die incessantly in this way, I desire to die more fully; nevertheless, I am compelled to live unwillingly, that my life may be the food of death and material for torture. O happy ones who, not having experienced the mockings of this life and the unlooked-for events of this certain condition, have gone before to the beatitude of premature death. What am I

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<sup>1</sup> Henry the young king (d.1183) and Richard.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey (d.1186).

misera, et non vado ut videam quem diligit anima mea, vinctum in mendicitate et ferro? Ut quid enim tanto tempore mater potuit oblivisci filii uteri sui? Tigres erga fetus suos, et lamias etiam saeviores, emollit affectio.

Fluctuo tamen in dubio. Si enim abiero, deserens filii mei regnum, quod undique gravi hostilitate vastatur, erit in absentia mea communi consilio et solatio destitutum. Si autem substitero, desideratissimam mihi faciem filii mei<sup>1</sup> non video. Non erit qui liberationem filii mei studiose procuret, et, quod magis vereor, ad impossibilem pecunie quantitatem delicatissimus adolescens tormentis urgebitur, tanteque afflictionis impatiens facile, in mortem suppliciis adigetur. O impie, crudelis, et dire tyranne, qui non es veritus manus sacrilegas immittere in Christum Domini! Nec te regalis unctio, nec sancte vie reverentia, nec Dei timor, a tanta inhumanitate cohibuit.

Porro princeps Apostolorum adhuc in Apostolica Sede regnat et imperat, et in medio constitutus est iudicarius rigor, illudque restat ut exeratis in maleficos, Pater, gladium Petri, quem ad hoc constituit super gentes et regna. Christi crux antecellit Caesaris aquilas, gladius Petri gladio Constantini, et Apostolica Sedes pre-iudicat imperatorie potestati. Vestra potestas a Deo est, an ab

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<sup>1</sup> This word is obscured in the printed copy.

doing? Why do I subsist? Why do I drag out my misery, and not go to see the one my soul loves, chained in beggary and iron? For what mother at such a time could forget the son of her womb? Tigers soften with affection to their young, likewise the fiercer witches.

Nevertheless, I waver in doubt. For if I go away, abandoning my son's kingdom, wasted on all sides by bitter hostility, it will be destitute of common counsel and solace in my absence. And if, on the other hand, I remain, I will not see my son's face, most desirable to me. There will be no one to carefully obtain the liberation of my son, and, what I fear more, the most delicate youth<sup>1</sup> will be weighed down by torment for an impossible sum of money, and, unable to endure easily such afflictions, will be easily driven to death by torture. O impious, cruel and abominable tyrant, who is not afraid to place sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed! Neither the unction of royalty nor reverence for a holy life, nor fear of God, restrained you from such inhumanity.

Furthermore, the Prince of the Apostles still rules and commands on the Apostolic See, and judiciary rigour is established on the earth, and it remains that you, Father, will unsheathe against the evil-doers the sword of Peter, which is established for this over peoples and kingdoms. The cross of Christ excels the eagles of Caesar, the sword of Peter the sword of Constantine, and the Apostolic See judges before the power of the emperor. Is your power from God,

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<sup>1</sup>Richard was thirty-six years old.

hominibus? Nonne Deus deorum locutus est vobis in Petro Apostolo dicens, "Quodcunque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis, et quodcunque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in coelis"? Quare ergo tanto tempore tam negligenter imo tam crudeliter filium meum solvere differtis, aut potius non audetis? Sed dicetis hanc potestatem vobis in animabus, non in corporibus, fuisse comissam. Esto. Certe sufficit nobis si eorum ligaveritis animas qui filium meum ligatum in carcere tenent. Filium meum solvere vobis in expedito est, dummodo humanum timorem Dei timor evacuet. Redde igitur mihi filium meum, vir Dei, si tamen vir Dei es, et non potius vir sanguinum. Si in filii mei liberatione torpeas, ut sanguinem eius de manu tua riquirat Altissimus. Heu! heu! si summus pastor in mercenarium pervertatur, si a facie lupi fugiat, si commissam sibi ovi-culam, imo arietem electum, ducem Domini gregis, in faucibus cruenta bestie derelinquat. Bonus Pastor alios pastores instruit, et informat non ut fugiant si viderint lupum venientem, sed animas suas pro ovi-bus suis ponant. Anima tua tibi, quaeso, salva sit dummodo--non dicam ovis tue--sed filii tui liberationem crebris legationibus, salutaribus monitis, comminationum tonitruis, generalibus interdictis, sententiis terribilibus, studeas procurare. Sane sero vestram pro eo animam poneritis, qui pro eodem adhuc unum verbum dicere aut scribere nolu-istis. Dei Filius, testimonio prophete, de coelo descendit, ut educeret vinctos de lacu in quo non erat aqua. Nunquid quod decuit

or from men? Did not the God of gods speak to you in the Apostle Peter saying, "Whatsoever you will bind on earth, will be bound also in Heaven, and whatsoever you loose on earth, will be loosed also in Heaven"? Why, therefore, do you delay so long, so carelessly, and so cruelly, to loose my son, or rather do you not dare? But you will say this power was entrusted to you over souls, not bodies. So be it. Certainly it will suffice for us if you bind the souls of them who hold my son bound in prison. To loose my son is your special mission, provided that the fear of God will sweep away human fear. Therefore restore my son to me, O man of God, if you are still a man of God, and not rather a man of blood. If you are slack in my son's liberation, so will the Most High demand his blood from your hands. Alas! alas! if the highest shepherd is perverted to a mercenary, if he flee from the face of the wolf, if he abandon the sheep entrusted to him, rather the chosen ram, the leader of the Lord's flock, unto the jaws of the bloodthirsty beast. The Good Shepherd instructs other shepherds and informs them that they may not flee when they see the wolf coming, but to lay down their lives for their sheep. May your soul be saved, I ask, provided only you strive to obtain the liberation of your son--I do not say of your sheep--by numerous missions, by salutary warnings, by thunderous threats, by general interdicts and by terrible sentences. Indeed, you will give your soul for him later, you who have refused until now to say or write a word for him. The Son of God, according to the testimony of the prophet, descended from Heaven, that he might lead from the waterless pit

Deum dedecet Dei servum? Filius meus torquetur in vinculis, nec ad eum descendis, nec mittis, nec moveris super contritione Ioseph. Christus hoc videt et silet! sed opus Dei negligenter agentibus abundantier in summa districione retribuet.

Legati nobis iam tertio promissi sunt nec sunt missi; ut, verum fatear, ligati potius, quam legati. Si filius meus in prosperis ageret, ad simplicem eius vocationem festinantius accessissent, quia de magnifica eius munificentia et de publico regni quaestu sue legationis uberes manipulos expectarent. Et quis quaestus eis gloriosior esse posset, quam regem liberare captivum, reddere pacem populis, religiosis quietem, et gaudium universis? Nunc autem filii Ephrem, intendentes et mittentes arcum, in die belli conversis sunt, et in tempore angustie; dum lupus prede incubat, canes muti latrare aut non possunt aut nolunt. Hecce promissio illa est quam nobis apud Castrum Radulphi cum tanta dilectionis et fidei protestatione<sup>1</sup> fecistis? Quid profuit vobis simplicibus dare verba et illudere vota innocentium inani fiducia? Sic olim rex Achab foedus amicitie contraxisse cum Benadab perhibetur, illorumque mutuam dilectionem eventus habuisse infastos audivimus. Pugnas Iude, Iohannis, Simonis, Machabeorum fratrum, caelestis dispensatio felicibus prosperabat auspiciis; missa vero legatione sibi firmantes amicitiam Romanorum, Dei perdiderunt auxilium.

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<sup>1</sup> protestatione.

those bound in chains. Should that which is fitting to God dishonour God's servant? My son is tormented in chains, but you do not go down to him, nor send anyone, nor are you moved over Joseph's contrition. Christ sees this and is silent! but he will pay back abundantly with greatest punishment those performing the work of God negligently.

Legates were promised to us three times but were not sent; so that, I may admit the truth, they were people bound (ligati) rather than legates (legati). If my son could act successfully, they would hastily approach at his single summons, because they would expect rich handfuls from his summons out of his magnificent generosity and the public profit of the kingdom. And what profit could be more glorious to them, than to liberate a captured king, to give peace to the people, quiet to the religious, and joy to all? Now, moreover, the sons of Ephraim, drawing and releasing the bow, are turned back in the day of war, and in the time of difficulties; while the wolf watches jealously over the prey, the mute dogs are unable or are unwilling to bark. Is this that promise which you made to us at Chateauroux with such protestations of love and faith? What did you gain by giving your word to simple people and ridiculing the wishes of the innocent with empty pledges? Thus King Ahab is said to have contracted a treaty of friendship with Ben-Hada, and we heard that their mutual love had unpropitious consequences. The wars of Juda, John and Simon, the Maccabee brothers, prospered under the happy auspices of divine dispensation, but when a legation was

Nec eis semel sed saepius venalis eorum familiaritas versa est in singultum. Solus desperare me cogitis, qui solus post Deum spes mea populique nostri fiducia fueratis. Maledictus qui confidit in homine. Ubi est ergo nunc prestolatio mea? Tu es, Domine, Deus meus. Ad te, Domine, qui laborem consideras, sunt oculi ancille tue. Tu, Rex regem, et Dominus dominantium, respice in faciem Christi tui, da imperium puero tuo, et salvum fac filium ancille tue, nec in eo punias delicta sui patris aut malitiam matris sue.

Ex certa et publica relatione cognovimus quod Imperator, post Legiensis episcopi mortem, quem funesto gladio longa tamen manu dicitur occidisse, Ostunensem episcoporum et quatuor episcopos provinciales eius, Salernitanum etiam, et Tranensem archiepiscopos, coarctat miseria carcerali; et, quod auctoritas apostolica nullatenus dissimulare debuerat, Siciliam, quam a temporibus Constantini constat esse patrimonium S[ancti] Petri, post legationes, post supplicationes, post communicationes Apostolice Sedis, in perpetuum Romane Ecclesie preiudicium, usurpatione tyrannica occupavit. In omnibus his non est aversus furor eius, sed adhuc manus eius extenta. Gravia quidem intulit, sed certissime potestis expectare in proximo graviora. Hi enim qui debuerant esse columne Ecclesie in omnes ventos arundinea levitate moventur. Utinam recolerent quod, propter negligentiam Heli,

sent for the sake of cementing for them the friendship of the Romans, they lost the help of God. Not once but often did their familiarity with bribery turn into sobbing for them. You alone compel me to despair, who alone after God had been my hope and the faith of my people. Cursed be him who confides in man. Where now is my aid? You are [my aid], O Lord my God. Unto you, O Lord, who considers the pain, are the eyes of your servant [turned]. You, King of kings, and Lord of lords, gaze upon the face of your anointed one, give dominion to your child, and make safe the son of your handmaiden, and do not punish in him the sins of his father or the malice of his mother.

We know by particular and general report that the Emperor, after the death of the Bishop of Liege, whom he is said to have killed with a deadly sword with a long arm, coerced by miserable imprisonment the bishop of Ostia and four of his bishops of the same province, and also the archbishop of Salerno, and of Trani; and, what the Apostolic authority ought by no means to pass over, he wrongfully occupied Sicily by tyrannical usurpation, after legations, after supplications, after correspondence with the Holy See, to the perpetual prejudice of the Roman Church, when from the time of Constantine it was agreed to be the patrimony of Saint Peter. In all these things his fury was not averted, but still his hand is extended. He produced grave [troubles], but most certainly you can expect graver [troubles] soon. For those who ought to be a pillar of the Church are moved in all winds with the lightness of a reed. Would that they might recall to mind that, because of the negligence of Eli, the priest ministering

sacerdotis ministrantis in Silo, gloria Domini de Israel translata est, --nec iam parabola temporis preteriti est, sed presentis--quia repulit Dominus Tabernaculum Silo, Tabernaculum suum, ubi habitavit in hominibus, et tradidit in captivitatem virtutem eorum et pulchritudinem eorum in manus inimici. Imputatur eorum pusillanimitati quod Ecclesia conculcatur, periclitatur fides, opprimitur libertas, dolus patientia, et iniq[ue]itas impunitate nutritur. Ubi est quod Dominus ecclesie sue quandoque promisit, Suges lac gentium et mammilla regum lactaberis; ponam te in superbiam seculorum, gaudium in generatione et generationem? Ecclesia olim superborum et sublimium colla propria virtute calcabat, legesque imperatorum sacros canones sequebantur.

Nunc autem ordine turbato, non dicam canones sed canonum conditores pravis legibus et consuetudinibus execrandis arctantur. Detestanda potentum flagitia tolerantur, nec est qui mutire audeant, et in pauperum peccata dumtaxat<sup>1</sup> rigor canonicus exercetur. Ideo non immerito Anacharsis philosophus telis aranearum leges et canones comparabat, que animalia debiliora retinent, fortia autem transmittunt.

Astiterunt reges terre et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Christum Domini, filium meum. Unus eum torquet in vinculis, alter terras illius crudeli hostilitate devastat, et, ut verbo vulgari utar, unus tondet, alter expilat, unus pedem tenet, alter excoriat. Hec

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<sup>1</sup>dumtaxat.

in Shiloh, the glory of the Lord departed from Israel,--nor is it a parable of former times, but of the present--because the Lord removed his Ark of the Covenant from Shiloh, his Tabernacle, where he dwelt among men, and handed over their virtue into captivity and their beauty to the hand of the enemy. It is ascribed to their cowardice that the Church is oppressed, the faith is in peril, liberty is crushed, deceit is fed by patience, and iniquity by impunity. Where is that which God once promised to his church, You will suck the milk of the people and milk the breasts of kings; I will set you up against the pride of the world, a cause of joy from generation to generation? Once the Church trampled on the neck of the proud and elevated by its own strength, and the laws of the emperors followed the sacred canons. But now the order is confused, I say not only the canons but also the authors of the canons are encircled by perverse laws and execrable customs. The detestable wickednesses of the powerful are tolerated, nor is there one who dares to mutter, and the force of the canons is applied only to the sins of the poor. Therefore, not undeservedly did Anacharsis the philosopher<sup>1</sup> compare laws and canons to spiders' webs, that restrain weaker animals and let the stronger pass.

The kings and princes of the earth stand and agree in unity against my son, the Lord's anointed. One binds him in chains, another lays waste his lands in cruel hostility, and, if I may use a common phrase, One robs, the other pillages, one holds the foot, the

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<sup>1</sup>A Scythian sage (fl. c600 B.C.).

videt summus pontifex, et gladium Petri supprimit in vagina repositum; sic addit cornua peccatori ipsa taciturnitas eius presumitur ad consensum. Videlur enim consentire, qui cum possit et deberet, non corripit, et dissimulatrix patientia societatis occulte scrupulo non carebit. Imminet, sicut predixit apostolus, tempus dissensionis, ut perditionis filius reveletur; instantque tempora periculosa, ut scindatur tunica Christi inconsutilis, ut rumpatur rete Petri, et Catholice unitatis soliditas dissolvatur. Initia malorum sunt hec; sentimus gravia, gravior timemus. Nec prophetissa, nec filia sum prophete; plura tamen de futuris turbationibus dolor dicere suggerebat, sed ipsa verba, que suggerit, surripit; scriptum enim singultus intercipit, et anime vires meror absorbens, vocales meatus anxietate precludit.

Vale.

Sanctissimo patri ac domino C[elestino], Dei gratia summo pontifici, A[lienora], eadem gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie

other skins it. These things the pope sees, and keeps the sword of Peter in its scabbard; thus he imparts strength to the sinner [and] his silence is presumed as consent. Indeed, he who does not correct, when he could and ought, seems to consent, and the dissembler by patience will not be free from the anxiety of a hidden society. A time of conflict is at hand, as the Apostle foretold, so that the son of perdition will be revealed; and dangerous times approach, so that Christ's seamless robe will be cut, and Peter's net will be broken, and the solidity of Catholic unity will be dissolved. These are the beginnings of evil things; we feel the grave troubles, we fear the graver troubles. I am neither a prophetess, nor a prophet's daughter; nevertheless, grief avoids speaking of more disturbances in the future, but these words, which it suggests, steal away; for my letter is interrupted by a sob, and sadness, absorbing the strength of my spirit, hushes the movement of my speaking in anxiety.

Farewell.

No. 42.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Foedera, conventiones, literae, . . ., comp. Thomas Rymer (18 vols.; London: A. & J. Churchill, 1704-1726), i.75-76.

Date: 1193.

To the most holy father and lord Celestine, by the grace of God pope, Eleanor, by the same grace queen of England, duchess of

et comitissa Andegavie, salutem et misericordie visceribus abundare.

Tedet animam meam vite mee; quicquid enim verebar accedit, et adhuc expectatio durioris eventus omnem gratiam consolationis abscidit. "Quando ego non timui, graviora pericula veris?" Laborem itaque et dolorem meum considerans, a pusillanimitate spiritus et tempestate subvertor. Ego vero iam delibor et doloribus festinata senectus paucitatem dierum meorum nunciat mihi.

Multoties vobis scripsi atque sacrificium cordis in spiritu contrito et humiliato frequenter obtuli. Quia tamen semel cepi, loquar adhuc ad Dominum meum cum sim pulvis et cinis. Dimitte me, Domine, ut plangam paululum dolorem meum. Nescio enim quo pacto impetus anxietatis, ex ipso planctu, et lacrymarum profusione lentescit. Diu expectavi ego, perdita, si esset qui leniret dolorem matris, qui diceret, "Ioseph filius tuus vivit et eductus est de cisterna, nec eum fera pessima devoravit."

O fera pessima!--tigribus et lamiis omniisque fera crudelior!--qui filium meum, militem Christi, Christum Domini, peregrinum Crucifixi, vinculis alligatum imperatori vendidit et tradidit. Sic ei durior adversarius constitutus est, atque de ergastulo in labyrinthum et de Scylla translatus est in Charybdim. A diebus Iude Iscariotis non est inventus similis illi, qui sic violaret legem excelsi, qui ita mali-

Normandy and countess of Anjou, greetings and an abundance of mercy in your heart.

My soul is weary of my life; for what I feared happened, and the expectation of an even harder fate cuts short all the pleasantness of consolation. "When I was not afraid, did you fear greater dangers?" And consequently considering my labour and sorrow, I am upset by a feebleness of the spirit and misfortune. Truly now I am diminished and hastening old age announces to me by sorrows the fewness of my days.

I have written to you many times and I have frequently offered the sacrifice of my heart in a contrite and humbled spirit. Because I have been betrayed once, this time I will speak to my Lord when I am dust and ashes. Let me, O Lord, bewail my sorrow a little. Indeed, I do not know how the assault of anxiety will slacken because of this lamentation and outpouring of tears. Long have I, ruined, awaited [someone], if he might be [the one] who will soften the sorrow of a mother, who will say, "Joseph your son lives and has been drawn out of the cistern, nor has the worst beast devoured him."

O worst of all beasts!--a beast far crueler by far than tigers and vampires!--who sold my son, the knight of Christ, the anointed of the Lord, voyager of the Crucified, and handed him over to the emperor, bound in chains. Thus a harder adversary was set up for him, and he was transferred from a prison to a labyrinth and from Scylla unto Charybdis. From the days of Judas Iscariot there has not been found one like him, who so violates the law of the Most High, who so mali-

tiose traderet iustum. Et hec in occulto et in tenebris facta sunt:  
Erant enim opera tenebrarum.

Memoriam abundantie suavitatis tue, pater misericordie, precor  
ut de ore leonis et de manu bestie liberes innocentem. Et que tibi  
utilitas in sanguine eius qui de manu tua exactissime requiretur?

Quia credebamus aliquando quod disposuisset Dominus per vos  
filio facere misericordiam, facti sumus laetantes. Nunc autem res in  
contrarium versa est. Triumphat enim longe lateque diabolus; sapien-  
tia vincit malitiam, et, audita in gentibus filii mei captione, per-  
sonat in triviis Geth, et in compitis Ascalonis incircumcisorum sol-  
ennis applausus. Heu! heu! percussit nos Dominus plaga gravi, et  
castigatione fideli a me viscera mea tyrannus avulsit, et ecclesias  
spolians, in terra sanctorum iniqua gessit. Plebes innumeras amari-  
tudine et merore confecit. In his omnibus non est aversus furor eius,  
sed adhuc manus eius extenta. Non parcit monachis, non reclusis,  
non eremitis, non monialibus, non leprosis. Perierunt enim ius et  
fas, timor Dei, fides, religio et honestas. Exurge, quare obdormis,  
Domine? Exurge et ne repellas in finem.

Moveat te, summe pontifex, etsi non huius peccatricis infeli-  
cissime dolor, saltem clamor pauperum, compeditorum gemitus, inter-  
fectorum sanguis, ecclesiarum spoliatio, et generalis denique pressura

ciously hands over a just man. And these things have been done in secret and in the dark: They were indeed the works of darkness.

Father of mercy, I beseech the memory of the abundance of your sweetness that you free the innocent from the mouth of the lion and the hand of the beast. And what use did you have in the blood of him who was demanded most exactly from your hand?

Because we have sometimes believed that the Lord arranges to show mercy to a son through you, we have been made glad. Now, however, the matter has been turned unto the opposite. Far and wide indeed does the devil triumph; he conquers malice with wisdom, and, when the people heard of the capture of my son, it resounds at the cross-roads of Gath and the solemn applause of the uncircumcised [resounds] at the cross-roads of Ascalon. Alas! alas! the Lord has struck us with a heavy blow, and by the punishment of a faithful servant the tyrant has torn my heart from me, and pillaging the Church, he has done evil things in the land of the saints. He has consumed countless peoples with bitterness and sadness. In all these things his fury has not been turned away, but his hand has been stretched still more. He spares neither monks, nor the cloistered hermits, nuns, or lepers. Indeed, justice and law, fear of God, faith, reverence, and uprightness have perished. Rise up, why do you sleep, O Lord? Rise up and do not push me unto death.

Let yourself be moved, O pope, if not by the sorrow of this unhappiest sinner, at least by the cry of the poor, the groans of the fettered, the blood of the slain, the pillaging of the churches,

sanctorum. Vide quanta malignatus est inimicus: In Sancto invaluerunt hostes ecclesie, prolongaverunt iniquitatem suam; confortati sunt, addentes prevaricationem; iniquitatem apponunt iniquitati, ut sanguis sanguinem tangat, ut superbia eorum ascendat semper, et impietas modernorum mensuram patrum suorum non solum impleat, sed transcendat. Certe horrendo anathemate feriendi erant, aut potius fulminandi.

Exurgat igitur, orbis episcopus, et arripiat quas fulgur iudicium manus tua. Sicut Petrus uno ictu Annaniam et Sapphiram et uno ictu Simonem Magum, potuit delere de medio sic spiritu labiorum tuorum interficias impios. Aliquin videberis declinare in obligationem malitie per consensum. Declinantes autem in obligationem adducet Dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem.

Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissime, gladio scilicet spiritus quod est verbum Dei. Arripiat iudicium manus tua, et in potestate, collata tibi celitus, tolle virgam peccatorum desuper fortem iusti. Scuto bone voluntatis tue protege filium meum, et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ulterius innocentia. Cum innocentia regis filii mei testimonium habeat ab his qui prope sunt et ii qui longe, non habetis excusationem de peccato. Que enim excusatio possit vestram desidiam et incuriam palliare, cum omnibus liqueat quod liberandi filium meum habetis potestatem et subtrahitis voluntatem? Nonne Petro Apostolo, et in eo, vobis, a Deo omne Regnum omnisque potestas regendi committitur? Benedictus autem Dominus qui talem potestatem

and finally by the general disparagement of the saints. See how wicked is the enemy: The enemies of the church have become strong in the Holy Place, they have prolonged their iniquity; increasing collusion, they have been strengthened; they add evil to evil so that blood touches blood, so that their pride always rises up, and the impiety of those living now not only fills up the measure of their fathers, but goes beyond it. Certainly they must be carried off by terrible anathema, or rather by a thunderbolt.

Therefore rise up, bishop of the world, and let your hand make judgment like lightning. Just as Peter could put Ananias and Sapphira out of the way with one stroke and Simon Magus with one stroke, so also should the spirit of your lips kill the impious. Otherwise, you will seem to approve by consent the bond of malice. Those who fail their duty the Lord will class with the workers of iniquity.

Gird your thigh with your most powerful sword, namely, the sword of the spirit which is the word of God. Let your hand make judgment, and in power granted to you from on high, lift the rod of sinners from above the strength of the just. Protect my son with the shield of your good will, and let not the son of iniquity injure the innocent more. When the innocence of the king my son has testimony from those who are near and those who are far away, you shall not have an excuse from sin. What excuse can disguise your idleness and negligence, when it is clear to all that you have the power of freeing my son and you are unwilling? Was not every kingdom and all power of ruling entrusted by God to Peter the Apostle, and, in him, to you? Blessed be

dedit hominibus. Non rex, non imperator, aut dux, a iugo vestre iurisdictionis eximitur. Ubi est ergo zelus Phinees? ubi est auctoritas Petri? ubi est qui dicat, "Zelus domus tue comedit me"? Appareat quod non in vanum dati sunt vobis et coepiscopis vestris gladii ancipites in manibus vestris. Dicite inquis nolite inique agere, et delinquentibus nolite exaltare cornu. Non degeneret in herede Petri dignitatis apostolice reverenda successio. Vestrum agnoscite principatum, probate zelum, accingimini ad opus fortitudinis et honorate ministerium vestrum. Gloria vestra derivetur ad posteros, et cognoscatur generatio altera quam inaniter tyrannus ille presumpserit et quam potenter presumptionem eius Sedes Romana punierit.

Vobis equidem convertetur in discriminem et crimen, si remissas habeatis manus, et addat impunitas cornua peccatori. Si enim in viridi hec facta sunt, in arido quid fiet?

Recolat, quaeso, vestra paternitas quantus amicus vir meus, rex, pater istius regis, et quam fidelis vobis fuerit. Attendite quam benignus iste successor paterne devotionis extiterit. Nec a corde vestro excidat quanta ego solicitudine per ipsum vestrorum negotia legatorum, imo vestra promoverim. Si etiam in vestris necessitatibus mea unquam circa vos affectio torpuit, decidam merito ab inimicis meis inanis.

Ego autem nunc experiar vestrorum promissa cardinalium verba

the Lord who gave such power to men. Neither king, nor emperor, nor duke is free from the yoke of your jurisdiction. Therefore, where is the zeal of Phineas? where is the authority of Peter? where is he who will say, "The zeal for your house consumes me"? It should appear that the two-sided swords in your hands were not given to you and your fellow-bishops for mere show. Tell the unjust not to act unjustly, and to the ungodly do not set up your horn. The revered succession of apostolic dignity should not become degenerate in the heir of Peter. Acknowledge your pre-eminence, show your zeal, gird yourself for the work of strength and honour your ministry. Your glory will be continued on to the future, and another generation will know how vainly the tyrant presumed and how powerfully the Roman See punished his presumption.

It will likewise be turned back on you unto danger and accusation, if you have careless hands, and impunity adds strength to the sinner. If indeed these things have been done in a lush land, what will be in a desert?

Let your paternity, I pray, recall what a friend my husband, the king, father of this king, was to you and how faithful he was to you. Notice how friendly is this successor of the paternal devotion. Nor should it be excised from your heart with what sollicitude I promoted through him the business of your legates, indeed, your business. If indeed my attention for you in your necessities ever becomes inert, I will deservedly die from my worthless enemies.

Now moreover I shall prove that the promises of your cardinals

esse et folia; arbores autem non a foliis aut floribus sed fructibus cognoscuntur. Et nos quidem a fructibus eorum cognovimus eos. Dicere pudet quod--utinam eos fecisse pudeat--tyrannus eos habuit malitie fautores, cuius se debuerant exhibuisse ultores. Dilexi vos non lingua et verbo, sed opere et veritate. Nunquid redditur pro bono malum et odium pro dilectione?

Ut--salva pace Domini mei--unum loquar, dico ei, quod quandoque Ioab exprobrasse legitur David regi, "Diligis eos qui te oderunt et eos odio habes qui te diligunt." Heu! quodmodo exarmatur scelus iusticie? Quam miserabiliter claves ecclesie suum perdiderunt officium! Et ubi gloriosus Petri principatus eminere debuerat, ibi contumeliosus opprimitur, et vilescit pontificalis auctoritas. Lupus irruit in ovile, leo in ecclesiam Dei, et singularis ferus depascitur eam, nec est qui pro domo Domini ex adverso ascendat. Quodque familiarius et intolerabilius doleo, filium meum tyrannus cruciat, dissimulat hoc summus pontifex; nec est qui redimat neque qui salvum faciat.

Siqua ergo consolatio in vobis, si qua virtus caritatis in Christo, siqua miseratio, siqua compassionis viscera, siquid denique quod affectum patris et pontificalem sapiat unctionem, audiat omnis populus sapientiam esse in vobis ad faciendum iudicium.

are words and leaves; trees, however, are not recognized by their leaves or flowers but by their fruits. And we indeed have known them from their fruits. I am ashamed to say--would that they were ashamed of having done it--the tyrant has them as supporters of malice, of which they ought to have shown themselves avengers. I have loved you not with eloquence and word[s], but with deed[s] and truth. Was evil paid back for good and hatred for affection?

So that I might say one thing--save the peace of my Lord--I say to him that it is read that Joab reproached King David, "You love those who hate you and you hold in hatred those who love you." Alas! how will the crime against justice be disarmed? How miserably have the keys of the Church lost their function! And where the glorious pre-eminence of Peter should have been conspicuous, there it has been prostrate more reproachfully, and pontifical authority has grown worthless. The wolf has invaded the sheep-fold, the lion the Church of God, and every wild beast feeds on her, nor is there anyone who will rise up against the beast for the [sake of the] Lord's house. What afflicted me more intimately and intolerably, the tyrant torments my son, [and] the pope conceals this; neither is there anyone who will buy [him] back nor who will make [him] safe.

Therefore, if there is any consolation in you, any strength of charity in Christ, any pity, any heart of compassion, if there is anything, in short, which understands the affection of the fatherly and pontifical anointing, let all people hear that there is wisdom in you for making judgment.

Sed quid talibus immoror? Curro in incertum, et aera verbero,  
 atque in ventos nostri gemitus evanescunt. Obstinatio tyranni durior  
 adamante est. Et scio, quem Deus negligit, nemo poteri corrigere.  
 Sermo meus in terram cecidit et revertitur ad me vacuus, nec in his  
 ad que missus est prosperatur. Me igitur tribulationum tempestas  
 horrenda demergit, me profundum absorbet abyssi terribilis, et urget  
 super me puteus desperationis os suum. Populi nostri omnes dant manus  
 suas morti, atque cum inferno percutiunt foedus, tabescentes et ares-  
 centes pre timore et expectatione, que superveniunt universo orbi  
 occidentali.

Tu autem, Domine Deus sabaoth, qui iudicas iuste vide, quia vim  
 patior, iudica causam meam. Et quia in terris iudicem non invenio,  
 ego misera et nulli miserabilis, terrenum iudicem ad tuum terribile  
 tribunal appelo. Infelix ego! Quare doloris mei vehementis impetum  
 sequor? Et os meum in celum pono?

Sed equanimiter quaeso, Pater, sustineat benignitas vestra,  
 quod ex dolore non ex deliberatione, processit. Peccavi ego, et, ut  
 verbo B[eati] Iob uter, que dixi, utinam non dixisset. Ideo non addam  
 ultra, et supponam digitum ori meo. Vale.

But why do I linger on such things? I run into uncertainty and I lash the air, and our weeping vanishes into the winds. The obstinacy of the tyrant is harsher than adamant.<sup>1</sup> And I know, he whom God neglects, no one can set right. My word falls to the ground and it returns to me empty, nor is it successful in those things for which it was sent. Therefore the horrible tempest of tribulations overwhelms me, the depths of the terrible abyss absorb me, and the dungeon of desperation presses its bones over me. All our people give their hands to death, and they make a treaty with hell, wasting away and drying up because of fear and expectation, which came over all the western world.

However, you, Lord God of Hosts, who judges justly, see, because I suffer force, judge my cause. And because I find no judge on earth, I, wretched and pitied by no one, summon the earthly judge to your terrible tribunal. Unhappy I! Why do I follow the attack of my vehement sorrow? and I put my plea to heaven?

But impartially I pray, O Father, let your benignity sustain what proceeds from sorrow, not from deliberation. I have sinned, and to use the word of the blessed Job, what I have said, would that I had not said. Therefore I will add no more, and I will put my finger to my lips. Farewell.

No. 43.

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<sup>1</sup>An alleged rock or mineral, of contradictory and fabulous properties; now a rhetorical or poetical name for impregnable hardness (OED).

Alienor, Dei gratia regina humilis Anglie, omnibus ad quos pre-sens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in Domino. Ad universitatis vestre noticiam volumus pervenire dilectum nostrum Walterum, abbatem de Waltham, ad petitionem et instanciam nostram,<sup>1</sup> non ex debito aut con-suetudine aliqua que ad ipsum aut ad domum suam de Waltham pertineat, sed ex sola gratia, invenisse nobis clericum quendam qui, cum aliis clericis nostris; aurum nostrum ad scaccarium domini regis, filii nostri, colligeret, a tempore coronationis eiusdem domini regis, filii nostri, usque ad Natale proximum post redditum nostrum de Sicilia, scilicet Natale anni quarti regni domini regis, filii nostri, Ricardi. Ne autem huiusmodi servitium ab eo aut successoribus suis abbatibus de Waltham per nos aut succedentes nobis reginas Anglie de cetero exi-gatur, compotum ab eo et a clero suo de toto termino prefato, simul

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<sup>1</sup> meam (R).

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Harleian MS. 391, fo. 51b-52; Cotton MS. Tiberius C i X, fo. 62b-63.

Printed Copy: H. G. Richardson, "The Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine," English Historical Review, 79(1959), 211.

Date: 1193.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, to all whom the present letter may reach, greetings in the Lord. We wish to bring notice to you all [that] our beloved Walter, abbot of Waltham, at our petition and request, not from a debt or any custom that may pertain to him or to his house of Waltham, but as an act of grace alone, provided a certain one of [his] clerks who, with other clerks, collected our gold<sup>1</sup> for us at the exchequer of the lord king, our son, from the time of the coronation of the same lord king, our son,<sup>2</sup> up to the Nativity nearest after our return from Sicily, namely the Nativity of the fourth year of the reign of the lord king Richard, our son.<sup>3</sup> And lest through us or [those] succeeding to us the queens of England henceforth may demand this sort of service from him or his successor abbots of Waltham, we, with others of our clerks, audited in its entirety the account from him and his clerk for all the afore-

<sup>1</sup> Eleanor is referring to queen's gold. She was entitled to one gold mark for every hundred silver marks that went to the king in rents and other payments.

<sup>2</sup> 3 September 1189.

<sup>3</sup> 25 December 1192.

cum aliis clericis nostris ex integro audivimus et eum et clericum suum<sup>1</sup> Willelmum omnino quietum clamavimus de tota receptione auri et aliorum reddituum nostrorum quos receperant. Testibus his: Hereberto Cantuariensi; et Petro Blesensi, Bathoniensi archidiaconis; Willelmo filio Aldelini; Gaufrido de Caritate; Galfrido de Claro Monte; Silvio, cognato nostro; Roberto de Wanci; Iohanne de Sanford; Ricardo de Clahall'; Wandregisilo de Crucellis. Apud Berkamsted.<sup>2</sup>

A[lienor], <sup>scrutatus</sup> Dei gratia humilis Anglie regina, iustic[iis] et baronibus de scaccario domini R[icardo], salutem. Sciatis quod Turnet Iudeus Norwic' satisfecit nobis de auro nostro quod nobis debuit tempore domini nostri H[enricus] r[ex] per .XL. marcas <sup>scrutatus</sup> quod nobis solvit apud Lond[onias], .XV. dies a Pentecoste proxima post mortem Henrici de Cornhull. Et ideo illum quietum clamavimus.

<sup>1</sup> nostrum (MS. Tiberius).

<sup>2</sup> Berchamst(ed)e) (R).

said term, and we quitclaimed him and his clerk William wholly of all collection of gold and of our other rents which they collected. The witnesses to these things: Herbert of Canterbury; and Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath; William fitz-Aldelin;<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey of "Caritas"; Geoffrey of Montclair; "Silvio," our relative; Robert of Wanchy; John of Sanford; Richard of "Clahall";<sup>2</sup> Wandrille of Courcelles. At Berkhamstead.

No. 44.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King John, Michaelmas 1208 (Pipe Roll 54), ed. Doris Mary Stenton (Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, new series, 23; London: J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1947), 15.

Date: 12 June 1194.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, to the sheriffs and barons of the exchequer of the lord Richard, greetings. Be it known that Jurnet the Jew of Norwich made satisfaction to us of our gold which was owed to us from the time of our lord king Henry by forty marks, which he paid to us at London, fifteen days after the Pentecost after the death of Henry of Cornhill.<sup>2</sup> And

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<sup>1</sup> Henry's steward from 24 June 1175 to 1189. He died about 1198.

<sup>2</sup> Henry of Cornhill was sheriff of Surrey in 1189 and obtained the sheriffdom of Kent in that same year. He was entrusted with various duties and loyally supported William Longchamp, Richard's detested

Teste: H[ubertus], Cant[uarium] archiepiscopo. Apud Lond[onias].

[Endorsed:] Norfolk Sudfolch.

A[lienor], Dei gratia regina Anglie, presentibus et futuris,  
salutem. Notum fac vobis me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse  
ecclesie Sancti Petri de Dunstable et canonicis Deo servientibus,  
elemosinam quam I[ngelrann] pincerna mei de feudo de Etun' eis con-  
cessit et carta sua confirmavit. Quare volo et concedo quod pre-  
dicti canonicis predictam elemosinam libere et quiete absque omni  
terreno, servicio et seculari exactionem, in perpetuum, teneant et  
possideant, sicut eis a predicto I[ngelrann] eos concessa et carta

therefore for this we quitclaimed him. Witness: Hubert,<sup>1</sup> archbishop of Canterbury. At London.

No. 45.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. British Museum. Harleian MS. 1885, fo. 25d. Cartulary of Dunstable Priory.

Printed Copy (partial): G. H. Fowler, "Cartulary of Dunstable Priory," Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Records Society, 10(1926), 63.

Date: 1196.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, to the present and future, greetings. Be it made known to you that I have conceded and by this my charter confirmed to the church of Saint Peter of Dunstable and the canons serving God [there], the alms that Ingelran my butler conceded from the fief of Eton and by his charter confirmed to them. Concerning which we wish and concede that the aforesaid canons may hold and possess the aforesaid alms freely and quietly without any land-tax, service, or secular exaction, forever, just as conceded and confirmed by his charter to them by the aforesaid

justiciar, whom he escorted to Dover after the chancellor's fall from power in October 1191 (John Appleby, England without Richard, 1189-1199 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1965), passim). He died after Michaelmas 1193 and before Richard's return 13 March 1194 (Richardson, EHR, 20<sup>ln1</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Hubert Walter, the justiciar.

sua confirmata. T[estibus his]: Gaufrido de Wance; Henrico de Berneval; Gaufrido de Karitate; Roberto de Wance; Wandrillo de Corcell[is]; Willelmo, elemosinario nostro, et aliis. Apud Salmur[am], anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1196.

Alienor, Dei gratia humilis Anglie regina, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie, et comitissa Andegavie, omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, prepositis, et ballivis et omnibus fidelibus suis, tam presentibus quam futuris, totius Aquitanie, salutem in vero Salutari. Noverit universitas vestra quod, Willelmus de Mause, ad voluntatem et petitionem nostram, et pro salute anime karissimi domini sui regis Richardi, filii nostri, ut citius a Domino misericordiam obtineret, dedit et concessit et sua carta et suo sigillo confirmavit, Deo et ecclesie Beate Marie Fontis Ebraudi et monialibus ibidem Deo servientibus, in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam, centum libras Andegavensis monete, ad tunicas dominarum et non ad alium usum, super totam terram suam de Marant, reddendas a se et ab heredibus suis annuatim eidem ecclesie, mille solidos in festivitate

Ingelran. W[itnesses]: Geoffrey of Wanchy; Henry of Berneval; Geoffrey of "Caritas"; Robert of Wanchy; Wandrille of Courcelles; William, our almoner, and other. At Saumur, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1196.

No. 46.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 334-335.

Date: 11 April 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, to all bishops, abbots, counts, barons, provosts and bailiffs and to all her faithful, both now as well as in the future, of all Aquitaine, greetings in the true Saviour. Be it known to you all that, at our wish and petition, and for the good of the soul of his most cherished King Richard, our son, that he might obtain mercy sooner from the Lord, William of Mauzé gave and conceded and by his charter and his seal confirmed, to God and the church of Saint Mary of Fontevrault and to the nuns serving God in the same place, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, one hundred pounds in Angevin money, for the habits of the ladies and for no other use, on all his land of Marans, to be given by himself and by his heirs annually to the same church, one thousand sous at the

Beati Iohannis Baptiste et mille solidos in Nativitate Domini. Concessit autem et promisit Deo et nobis, et propria manu sua super sancta iuravit, quod si ipse vel heredes sui deficerent in solutione dictarum centum librarum eidem ecclesie Fontis Ebraudi, liceret nobis et heredibus sive successoribus nostris ex integro saisire totam terram de Maraant, et tenere quoisque predicte ecclesie congrue satisfacerent. Conventus vero eiusdem ecclesie concessit ei et uxori sue et heredibus eorum spirituale benefitium totius ordinis Fontis Ebraudi. Hoc autem donum tenendum fecit in ecclesia Fontis Ebraudi in manu nostra die quo sepultus fuit karissimus filius noster rex Richardus, et super sancta iuravit a se et heredibus suis perpetua libertate tenendum, ad honorem et profectum ecclesie Fontis Ebraudi, et salutem anime karissimi domini sui regis Richardi, coram hiis testibus: Mauritio, episcopo Pictavensi; Willelmo, episcopo Andegavensi; Hugone, episcopo Lincolnensi; Milone, abbe de Pinu; Luca, abbata Torpeniaci; Aymerico, vicecomite Toarcii, Guidone fratre suo; Willelmo de Rupibus; Petro Saveri. Actum anno Verbi Incarnati MCXCIX.

feast of Saint John the Baptist<sup>1</sup> and one thousand sous at the Nativity of the Lord. Moreover, he conceded and promised to God and to us, and swore with his own hand on the Bible, that if he or his heirs might fail in the payment of the said one hundred pounds to the same church of Fontevrault, it is permitted to us and our heirs or successors to seize all the land of Marans entirely, and to hold it however long it might satisfy the said church. The convent of the same church conceded to him and to his wife and to his heirs all the spiritual benefits of the order of Fontevrault. This gift he made to be held in the church of Fontevrault in our hand on the day on which our most dear son King Richard was buried,<sup>2</sup> and he swore on the relics that it was to be held in perpetual liberty from himself and his heirs, to the honour and advance of the church of Fontevrault, and to the welfare of the soul of his most cherished lord king Richard, in the presence of these witnesses: Maurice, bishop of Poitiers;<sup>3</sup> William, bishop of Angers;<sup>4</sup> Hugh, bishop of Lincoln;<sup>5</sup> Milo, abbot of Pin;<sup>6</sup> Luke, abbot of Turpenay; Amaury, viscount of Thouars, and Guy his brother; William des Roches; Peter Savary. Written in the year

<sup>1</sup> June 24.

<sup>2</sup> Palm Sunday, 11 April 1199.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice of Blazon (1198-d.1214).

<sup>4</sup> William of Chemillé (1197-d.25 April 1202).

<sup>5</sup> Hugh of Avalon (21 September 1186 to 16 November 1200).

<sup>6</sup> Richard's chaplain (Pernoud, 243).

A[lienora], Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavensis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, prepositiis, baillivis, et omnibus fidelibus suis de Turonia, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos et dilectum filium nostrum, comitem Iohannem, dedisse et concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Deo et Beate Marie de Torpiniaco, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute anime karissimi filii nostri Ricardi, regis Anglie, et pro anniversario eiusdem annuatim celebrando, stagnum de Langeis et quicquid predictus filius noster rex habebat in duobus molendinis de eodem stagno molenibus, habenda et possidenda libere, quiete, pacifice et integre de nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum. Sciatis autem nos interfuisse<sup>1</sup> morti iamdicti filii nostri regis, qui omnem fiduciam suam, post Deum, in nobis posuit ut saluti [anime eius]<sup>2</sup> in hiis et in aliis, pro posse nostro, materna sollicitudine provideremus. Hanc

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<sup>1</sup> Both the MS. and Teulet have interfuisse, probably a combination of the two words inter and fuisse, meaning "to have been at."

<sup>2</sup> A hole in the MS. parchment has obliterated these two words.

of the Incarnation of the Word 1199.

No. 47.

Original: Paris. Archives Nationales. Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, J. 460. Fondations, I, no. 4.

Printed Copy: Alexandre Teulet, Layettes du trésor des chartes (5 vols.; Paris: Plon, 1863-1909), i.200.

Date: 21 April 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, justiciars, provosts, bailiffs, and to all her faithful of Tours, greetings. Be it known to you all that we and our beloved son, Count John,<sup>1</sup> have given and conceded and by our present charter confirmed to God and to Saint Mary of Turpenay, and to the monks serving God there, in perpetual alms, for the welfare of the soul of our most cherished son Richard, king of England, and for the celebration of his annual anniversary, the pond of Langeais and whatever our aforesaid son the king used to have in the two mills grinding from that pool, to have and possess freely, quietly, peacefully and wholly from us and our heirs forever. Moreover, let it be known that we were at the death of our aforesaid son the king, who placed all his trust in us, after God, that we with maternal sollicitude might to the best of our ability provide for the welfare of his soul in

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<sup>1</sup> John was count of Mortain.

etenim elemosinam pre ceteris ecclesie Beate Marie de Torpiniaco  
dedimus, quia dilectus noster [Lucas, ab]bas<sup>1</sup> de Torpiniaco, affuit  
nobiscum infirmitati et funeri karissimi filii nostri regis, et circa  
eiusdem exequias pre omnibus aliis religiosis laboravit. Et quia  
volumus quod hec elemosina perpetuam habeat firmitatem et inconcussa  
permaneat, sigilli nostri presenti carte robur apposuimus et munimen.  
Hii testibus: Petro de Cappuis, cardinali Sancte Romane Ecclesie;  
Comite Iohanne, filio nostro; Mauritio, episcopo Pictavensi; B.,  
episcopo Agenensi; magistro Philippo, thesaurario Andegavensi; Regina  
Berengaria; M., comitissa Perticensi; Roberto de Tornaham, tunc senes-  
callo Andegavensi; Guidone de Toarcio; Rorgone de Saceio; Willelmo  
de Stagno et multis aliis. Datum apud Fontem Ebraudi, .XXI. die  
Aprilis, anno ab Incarnatione Domini M<sup>0</sup>C<sup>0</sup>LXXXIX<sup>0</sup>, .XI. kalendarum  
Maii.

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<sup>1</sup> A hole in the MS. parchment has obliterated these two words.

these things and others. Therefore, we gave this alms above all to the church of Saint Mary of Turpenay, because our beloved Luke, abbot of Turpenay, was with us during the illness and funeral of our most cherished son the king, and worked on his funeral rites more than all the other monks.<sup>1</sup> And because we wish that he may have this alms forever and that it may remain firm and unbroken, we have appended the strength and defence of our seal to this our present charter.

The witnesses to these things: Peter of Capua, cardinal of the Holy Roman Church; Count John, our son; Maurice, bishop of Poitiers; B[ertram], bishop of Agen;<sup>2</sup> master Philip, the treasurer of Angers; Queen Berengaria;<sup>3</sup> M[atilda of Saxe], countess of Perche; Robert of Thornham, then seneschal of Anjou; Guy of Thouars; Rorgo of Sace; William of Stagno; and many others.<sup>4</sup> Dated at Fontevrault, the twenty-first day of April, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1199, the eleventh kalends of May.

No. 48.

Original: Possibly in the archives of the abbey of Fontevrault.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus Lionel Landon (Itinerary of Richard I (London: J. W. Ruddock and Sons Ltd, 1935), 231) errs in asserting that Eleanor did not reach Richard's bedside before his death.

<sup>2</sup> Bertram I "de Beceiras" (c1183-d.1208).

<sup>3</sup> Wife of Richard I. They were married on 12 May 1191.

<sup>4</sup> These people, with the exception of Peter of Capua, were present at Richard's funeral (Pernoud, 246-247).

<sup>5</sup> Louis Etienne Arcère, Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavorum, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis tam presentibus quam futuris totius Aquitanie, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod Radulphus de Maleone, post mortem charissimi filii nostri regis Richardi, venit ad nos apud Loudunum, et requisivit a nobis ut redideremus ei Talmundum cum pertinentiis suis et Rupellam, afferens quod tota terra de Talmundo et Rupella ei iure hereditario contingebant, et hoc paratus fuit probare in presentia nostra eiusdem centumque militum iuramento. Et nos, quia volumus habere servitium suum quod nobis necessarium erat, et filio nostro Ioanni, castrum de Talmundo cum pertinentiis suis ei integre reddimus. Et si quid iuris ibidem habebamus, sibi et heredibus suis dedimus in perpetuum concessimus. Pro Rupella autem, quoniam sibi de iure pertinere afferebat, dedimus ei in excambium castrum de Banaum et quidquid ibi habebamus cum pertinentiis suis, ultra id quod Hugoni de Toarcio dederamus, salvis

Printed Copy: Louis Etienne Arcère, Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aulnis (2 vols.; La Rochelle: R. J. Desbordes, 1756-1757), ii.647.

Date: 29 April 1199.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, viscounts, barons, and to all her faithful both in the present as well as in the future of all Aquitaine, greetings. Be it known to you all that, after the death of our most cherished son King Richard, Ralph of Mauléon came to us at Loudun, and asked us to restore to him the Talmundais with its appurtenances and La Rochelle, alleging that all the land of the Talmundais and La Rochelle appertained to him by hereditary right, and he was prepared to prove this in our presence by his oath and that of one hundred of his men. And because we wish to have his service which is necessary to us and to our son John, we restored wholly to him the castle of Talmund with its appurtenances. And if we had anything of right in it, we have given and conceded it to him and his heirs forever. For La Rochelle, however, although he had affirmed that it pertained to him by right, we gave to him in exchange the castle of Benon and everything which we had there with its appurtenances, beyond that which we had given to Hugh of Thouars, saving nevertheless the alms

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d'Aulnis (2 vols.; La Rochelle: R. J. Desbordes, 1756-1757), ii.647.

<sup>1</sup>24 December 1199 (Giry, Rouen, i.63n3).

tamen eleemosinis quas nos et antecessores nostri ibi et in terra de Talmundis domibus religiosis donaveramus, et in pretoratu de Rupella dedimus ei similiter quinquaginta solidos Pictavienses, de moneta eiusdem ville sibi et heredibus suis annuatim percipiendas. Prenom-  
inatus vero Radulphus de Maleone, pro prescripto escambio, quidquid iuris habebat in Rupella nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum qui-  
tavit et dimisit, et sic saepe dictus Radulphus fecit nobis hominium ligium iurando super sacro sanctum evangelium nos et nostram terram omnem honorem ad nos pertinentem contra omnes qui vivere queant aut mori se pro posse suo deffensurum. Et ut super hoc de cetero questio non posset oriri, munimine sigilli nostri et sigillis eiusdem Radul-  
phi de Maleone presentem cartam chirographo divisam fecimus confir-  
mari. Testibus iis: Emerico, vicecomiti Toarcensi; Hugone, vice-  
comiti de Castro Heraldi; Guillelmo de Canta Merula; Hugone de Toarcio;  
Ramundo de Toarcio; Petro de Vonulia; Iodelino de Iodelineria; Eblone  
de Rupeforti; Hugone de Saccio; Guillelmo de Stagno; Reginaldo de  
Henoo; Petro de Rameia;<sup>1</sup> Raimundo de Podio Maen; et pluribus aliis.  
Actum publice apud Loudunum, crastino Vitalis martyris, anno ab  
Incarnatione Domini MCXCIX.

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<sup>1</sup> Ramesia?

which we and our ancestors had donated to houses of religion there and in the lands of the Talmundais, and similarly we gave him fifty sous in Poitevin money in the provostship of La Rochelle, to be collected annually from the mint of that same town by him and his heirs. The aforenamed Ralph of Mauléon, in the abovewritten exchange, quit and gave back to us and our heirs everything which he had by right in La Rochelle, and thus the oft-mentioned Ralph made liege homage to us by sacred swearing over the gospels of Holy Church that he would defend us and our land and our whole honour to the best of his ability against all living or dead. And in order that no question should be able to arise over this, we made the present charter bequest to be confirmed by the fortification of our seal and of the seal of the same Ralph of Mauléon. Witnesses to these things: Amaury, viscount of Thouars; Hugh, viscount of Chatellerault; William of Chantemerle; Hugh of Thouars; Raymond of Thouars; Peter of "Vonulia"; Jodelin of "Jodelineria"; Eblo of Rochefort; Hugh of Sace; William of Stagno; Reginald of Henouville; Peter of ?Ramsay; Raymond of Puymoyen; and many others. Decreed publicly at Loudun, the day after the feast of Saint Vital the Martyr,<sup>1</sup> in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1199.

No. 49.

Original: Poitiers. Archives de la Vienne. Originale, Montierneuf,

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<sup>1</sup>28 April.

[Alienora,<sup>1</sup>] Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normanie, Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, prepositis, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus [suis, et omnibus Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis, tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod, cum infra mensem post mortem karissimi filii nostri Richardi, regis Anglie, Pictavim venissemus, dilecti nostri abbas<sup>2</sup> et monachi Sancti Iohannis [Monasterii-novi c]artas patris et avi nostri et aliorum predecessorum nostrorum, qui ipsius monasterii fundatores extiterant, coram baronibus nostris presentaverunt. Nos autem ipsarum tenorem cartarum et ipsius ecclesie libertates plurimas attentius considerantes, pro salu[te anime nostre et karissi]mi filii nostri Richardi, regis Anglie, et eciam patris et avi nostri et aliorum antecessorum nostrorum, illa omnia que ecclesie Sancti Iohannis evangeliste Novimonasterii avus noster donavit, concessit et firmavit, et similiter pater noster Willelmus dona[vit, concessit et fi]rmavit, de consilio baronum et aliorum fidelium nostrorum, qui tunc presentes aderant, concedimus et confirmamus et in perpetuum tenenda precipimus, tam in adquisitis quam in acquirendis.<sup>3</sup> Concedimus et confirmamus

<sup>1</sup> The original charter's edges are extremely worn. The brackets indicate missing words.

<sup>2</sup> abbas et conventus (T).

<sup>3</sup> adquirendas (T).

no. 63.

Printed Copy: Alexandre Teulet, Layettes du trésor des chartes (5 vols.; Paris: Plon, 1863-1909), i.202-204.

Date: 4 May 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, justiciars, provosts, and to all the bailiffs and her faithful and all sons of Holy Mother Church, both in the present as well as in the future, greetings. Be it known to you all that, when we came to Poitiers within a month after the death of our most cherished son Richard, king of England, our dearly beloved abbot and monks of Saint John of Montierneuf presented in the presence of our barons the charters of our father and grandfather and other predecessors, who had founded that monastery. And carefully considering the tenor of the charters and the many liberties of that church, for the welfare of our soul and of our most cherished son Richard, king of England, and likewise of our father and grandfather and of our other ancestors, with the advice of our barons and our other vassals who were consulted, being present at that time, we concede and confirm and order to be held forever all those things, both acquired as well as to be acquired, which our grandfather gave, conceded and confirmed to the church of Saint John the Evangelist of Montierneuf, and similarly our father William gave, conceded and confirmed. We concede and confirm all charters which our grandfather and father William and our other ancestors gave to that same mona-

cuncta munimenta [que avus et pa]ter noster Willelmus et alii antecessores nostri eidem monasterio dederunt, et concedimus tam illud quam ea que ad se pertinere videntur sub tocius libertatis munimine, ab omni inquietudine cuiuscumque potestatis et omnium parentum nostrorum cunctorumque s[u]ccessorum nostrorum. V]idelicet ipsum monasterium, sicut patres nostri fecerunt, constituimus liberum, et francum burgum quod circa illud monasterium est, et ea que nunc habent in mercato novo. Et sicut avus et pater noster et antecessores nostri concesserunt, quicquid poterunt [adquirere usque a]d muros civitatis concedimus, nullam ibi consuetudinem nobis retinentes. Concedimus quoque burgum ultra aquam fluvii, et fontem qui est in ripa fluminis, et aquam a molendinis de Chassagnes usque quo Biberis intrat in Cl[ennem, et a vetul]a exclusa usque ad molendina de Charuhel,<sup>1</sup> et inde usque ad molendina de Exsartis.<sup>2</sup> Concedimus pedagium pontis novi totum, sicut tempore patris avi nostri et ipsius et patris nostri totum habuerunt et tenuerunt. Concedimus [burgum Sancti Satur]nini cum tannatoribus suis, sicut a patre avi nostri datum est, liberum et francum, et sicut hactenus<sup>3</sup> habuerunt. Et concedimus omnes homines qui pertinent ad ius illius ecclesie, ubicumque sint, ab omni exercitu et expeditione, excepta illa que vocatur [nomine belli, li]bertos et frances, nisi quando princeps Aquitanie iniet campale<sup>4</sup> bellum contra suos inimicos. Et omnia loca ad ipsum monasterium<sup>5</sup> pertinentia

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<sup>1</sup>Charruel (T).      <sup>2</sup>Essartis (T).      <sup>3</sup>actenus (T).      <sup>4</sup>campale (T).

<sup>5</sup>Omitted by Teulet.

stery, and we concede both that as well as those things which seem to pertain to them under the guarantees of all liberty, from all disturbance of whatever power and of all our relatives and of all our successors. Namely, we establish that monastery free, just as our fathers did, and the town which is around that monastery, and that which they now have in the new market. And just as our grandfather and father and our ancestors had conceded, we concede whatever they will be able to acquire up to the city walls, reserving to ourselves no custom there. We concede also the town over the water of the river, and the well which is on the bank of the river, and the water from the mill of Chassagnes up to where the Boivre enters into the Clain, and from the old dam up to the mill of "Charuhel," and from there up to the mill of the cleared land. We concede all the tolls of the new bridge, just as in the time of our great-grandfather and grandfather and our father they had and held it all. We concede the city of Saint-Saturnin with its tanneries, just as it was given by our great-grandfather, free and exempt, and just as they had up till now. And we concede all men who pertain to the law of that church, wherever they may be, free and exempt from all military service and escort duty, excepting that which is called in time of war, unless when the prince of Aquitaine engages in a land war against their enemies. And we concede all places pertaining to that monastery free from hospitality and harbourage,<sup>1</sup> just as our great-grandfather and grand-

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<sup>1</sup>Or, procuration.

concedimus libera ab hospicio et arbergaria, sicut pater avi nostri  
 et ipse et pater noster [voluerunt et] iusserunt esse libera et  
 quieta, ita ut nec nos nec aliquis heredum nostrorum, non propin-  
 quus, non senescallus, non marescallus, non cubicularius, non pre-  
 positus aliquis noster aut serviens in obedienciis ipsius monasterii  
 aut locis hos[picum vel] arbergariam per consuetudinem querat, aut  
 talliatam faciat, aut sibi dari aliquid cogat.<sup>1</sup> Concedimus quoque  
 stagnum civitati contiguum, quod Agnes fecit ad munimentum civitatis,  
 quod pater avi nostri hab[uerat] in dominio, solidum et quietum, ita  
 ut<sup>2</sup> nullus posset cursum aque ad hoc stagnum venientis impedire;<sup>3</sup>  
 et ita solidum et quietum donavit illud prefato monasterio, cum pis-  
 caria et cum molendinis, et consuetudinem molarum [quas homines  
 con]suetudinarii extrahunt sine pretio, exceptis molis veteribus que  
 de ipsis molendinis proiciuntur. Quas etiam molas iudex de Bonolio  
 per consuetudinem debet ducere usque ad lacum de Forgiis, et iudex de  
 Forgiis [usque ad molend]ina, absque omni pretio. Homines vero illos  
 qui molas extrahunt debent monachi tueri et custodire. Concedimus  
 villam Agriciacum et villam Ianuas que Molerias dicitur, cum his que  
 avus noster adiecit de eadem si[lva, villam sim]iliter Puteoli,<sup>4</sup>  
 terram quoque Prati-maledicti et terram<sup>5</sup> de Paisiaco cum silva, et  
 ea que sunt ad Legudiacum, sicut ea pater avi nostri beneficio ad-  
 quisivit ab archiepiscopo Burdegalensi et clericis eius. Concedimus

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<sup>1</sup>coguat (T).      <sup>2</sup>quod (T).      <sup>3</sup>inpedire (T).      <sup>4</sup>Putheoli (T).

<sup>5</sup>Omitted by Teulet.

father and our father wished and ordered [them] to be free and quit, so that neither we nor any of our heirs, nor our next of kin, nor seneschal, nor marshall, nor chamberlain, nor any provost or servant of ours should ask the obedientiaries of that monastery or its houses for hospitality or procuration through custom, or may make a tax, or acknowledge anything to be given to him. We concede also the pond next to the city, which Agnes made to the defence of the city, that our great-grandfather had in lordship, undisturbed and quit, on condition that no one may be able to impede the water coming to this pond; and thus she gave it undisturbed and quit to the aforesaid monastery, with the fish and the mills, and the custom of the millstones which the customary men extract without payment, except the old millstones which are thrown away from these mills. And these millstones the judge of Bonneuil ought by custom to take the lake of Forges and the judge of Forges from there to the mills for nothing. And the men who quarry the stones ought to defend and guard the monks. We concede the town of "Agriciacum" and the town of "Ianus" which is called Moulière, with those things that our grandfather assigned from that wood [i.e., the wood of Moulière], similarly the vill of le Puiset, also the land of "Prati-maledicti" and the land of Paizay-le-Sec with the wood, and those things which are at Ligugé, just as my great-grandfather acquired them in benefice from the archbishop of Bordeaux and his clerk. We concede the reversion of property of the monastery, and the reversion of property of Usson and Cormery and of Faye, and the reversion of property of "Boeto," and the reversion of

revestitu[ram de Mosteri]olo, et revestituram de Usello<sup>1</sup> et Cormer et  
 de Faia, et revestituram de Boeto, et revestituram de exartis, sicut  
 determinate sunt, et medietatem pedagii de Usello,<sup>1</sup> et medietatem de  
 Lolaio et terrarum illi pertinentium, et c[imisterium e]cclesie, et  
 Iareiam<sup>2</sup> cum terris sibi appendentibus. Concedimus villam Bennaci cum  
 casamentis militum, et pascherium<sup>3</sup> eiusdem ville, et medietatem terre  
 de Cuguls, et medietatem de Girbergeria, et in burgo [Angeriacensi],  
 decem modios vini censuales uno quoque anno, et quartam partem de  
 Olerone, excepta turre et castro, et in Burdegalensi territorio, orti-  
 gium<sup>4</sup> extremum, et in Burdegala civitate, furnum unum de sub turre et  
 pas[cheri]um de Iarth,<sup>5</sup> cum loco illo ubi est capella Sancti Nicholai,  
 et cum hiis omnibus rebus quas Aldeardis, mater avi nostri, predicto  
 monasterio donavit. Et concedimus maresia et podium de Serra, que  
 avus noster illi donavit. Et concedimus de leva[gio salis] duas partes  
 tercia retenta, quas avus noster ille donavit, ad quas etiam colli-  
 gendas concessit monachis proprium habere hominem, et nos eodem modo  
 concedimus. Concedimus etiam silvam de Moleriis, et vivam et mortuam,  
 sicut [eam] avus noster amititia et beneficio adquisivit ab Helia de  
 Calvigniaco.<sup>6</sup> Concedimus et omnes silvas nostras, sicut pater avi  
 nostri et ipse et pater noster iam olim dederant eis, ad ignem, ad  
 domos faciendas [vel ref]aciendas et ad [omn]ia necessaria facienda,  
 tam hiis qui habitant in monasterio quam hiis qui sunt per obedien-

<sup>1</sup> Vysello (T).      <sup>2</sup> Iarreiam (T).      <sup>3</sup> pasquariam (T).

<sup>4</sup> ortiguum (T).      <sup>5</sup> Iart (T).      <sup>6</sup> Calviniaco (T).

property of the cleared land, just as they are determined, and half of the toll paid by travellers from Usson, and half of les Ormes and of the lands of its appurtenances, and the cemetery of the church, and "Iarieam" with its appendage lands. We concede the vill of Benassai with the easements of the knights, and the pasture-land of the same vill, and half the land of ?Cuges, and half of "Girbergeria," and in the city of Saint-Jean-d'Angély, a rent of ten measures of wine every year, and a fourth part of Oléron, excepting the tower and the castle, and in the territory of Bordeaux, the furthest orchard, and in the city of Bordeaux, one bakeoven under the tower and the pasture-land of "Jarth," with that place where there is a chapel of Saint Nicholas, and with all those things which Alearde,<sup>1</sup> mother of our aforesaid grandfather, gave to the monastery. And we concede the marsh and estate of "Serra," which our grandfather gave to them. And we concede two parts of the salt tax, reserving a third, that our grandfather gave them, and to the collecting he conceded that the monks may have their own man, and we concede now the same. And we concede the wood of Moulière, the living and dead [wood], just as my grandfather by friendship and goodwill acquired it from Helie of Chauvigny. And we concede all our woods, just as our great-grandfather and grandfather and our father once already gave to them, for fire, and for building and repairing and the making of all necessary things, both to those who live at the monastery as well as those who

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<sup>1</sup>Wife of Duke William VIII of Aquitaine.

cias. Concedimus eis truncatas a stagno usque ad flumen Clennis, et turrem que sub stagno est, ut sit in custodia monacorum,<sup>1</sup> [sicut av]us noster olim preceperat. Concedimus consuetudines de Puteo et de Pachiaco, quas eis avus noster donavit. [Con]cedimus etiam quicquid Hugo de Mota, filius Rogerii, dapiferi patris avi nostri, predicto monasterio dedit. Concedimus quicquid homines nostri de honore nostro sive in honore nostro eis dederunt vel vendiderunt et amodo daturi sunt vel vendituri de quibus et in quibus omnes consuetudines nostras concedimus eis. Concedimus eciam [eisde]m monachis omnia pedagia nostra et omnem consuetudinem per totam terram nostram, ut liceat eis sua propria et suis usibus vendere et emere sine iniuria. Precipimus eciam ut, sicut pater avi nostri et ipse et pater noster instituerant et [preceper]ant, ut omnes qui sua in burgo monacorum<sup>1</sup> ponunt et vendunt, quecumque merces sit, sine ulla contradictione nostri vel nostrorum, debitam consuetudinem monachis reddant. Similiter mercatores extranei,<sup>2</sup> si transitum [illic] habuerint et sua vendiderint, eis debitam consuetudinem reddant. Cursores vero qui habitant in civitate, ementes et vendentes, si in burgo illo venerint et sua ibi vendiderint, debitam consuetudinem mo[nachis] reddant; et ipsi idem civitatem ascendentibus, non aliam quam ipsam consuetudinem, sublata omni iniuria, persolvant. Omnes vero illic commorantes, vel sua illic afferentes sive reponentes, quieti cum suis omnibus, absque [ulla] iniuria a nostris hominibus sibi facta, permaneant. De con-

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<sup>1</sup>monachorum (T).

<sup>2</sup>extranei (T).

are there through vows of fealty. We concede to them the tributaries from the pond up to the river Clain, and the tower that is below the pond, that it might be in the custody of the monks, just as our grandfather once ordered. We concede the customs of le Puiset and Paizay-le-Sec, which our grandfather gave to them. Also we concede everything Hugh of la Mothe, son of Roger, steward of our great-grandfather, gave to the aforesaid monastery. We concede everything that our men of our fiefs gave or sold to them and everything that they intend to give or sell concerning which things and in which things we concede all customs. Also we concede to the same monks all tolls paid by travellers to us and all customs through all our land, that it may be allowed to them to sell their own possessions and to buy for their own needs. Also we order, just as our great-grandfather and grandfather and our father instituted and ordered, that all who buy and sell in the city of the monks, whatever merchants they be, may give the customary duty to the monks, without any opposition by us or ours. Similarly, outside merchants, if they have brought and sold their goods there, they may give the customary duty to them. Even merchants not owning stalls who live in the city, buying and selling, if they come to that burg and sell their goods there, they may give to the monks the customary duty; and those same going up to the city may pay no other but that custom, removing all injury. All those remaining in that place, or bringing or laying out their goods in that place, may remain quit with all their own things, and without any injury made to them by our men. Moreover, concerning disputes

tentionibus autem et querelis que plerumque oriuntur inter homines nostros et homines monacorum,<sup>1</sup> precipimus ut ita teneatur sicut factum est tempore patris avi nostri et ipsius et patris nostri, ita ut, si tortitudinem aliquis hominum monacorum<sup>1</sup> fecerit preposito nostro, non cogat<sup>2</sup> eum prepositus noster venire in curiam suam et rectum facere; sed magis, facta proclamatione monachis et statuta die, vadat in curiam illorum ante abbatem aut prepo[situm] illorum et ibi accipiat quicquid eorum curia iudicaverit, sicut factum esse comperimus<sup>3</sup> ab avo nostro. Hoc et nos tenebimus et posteros nostros tenere iubemus, et similiter per omnes obediencias illorum a nostris hominibus teneri precipimus. Nos enim [volumus<sup>4</sup>], monasterium illud de honore quem pater avi nostri illi dedit et ipse avus tenuit et pater noster, imminuere,<sup>5</sup> seu eandem libertatem et immunitatem<sup>6</sup> quam illi sederunt et tenuerunt volumus et iubemus ibi conservari; ita ut<sup>7</sup> si [aliquis pro] aliquo forisfacto vel eciam nobis iratis, timore pressus ad predictum burgum fugerit, liber et quietus ibi maneat donec aut placitum faciat aut in pace discedat, sicut semper observatum est tempore patris avi nostri et ipsius et patris [nostri. Si quis vero] regum, comitum, episcoporum, iudicium hac<sup>8</sup> aliarum personarum secularium hanc nostre donacionis et concessio[n]is sive confirmationis cartam calumpniatus fuerit vel perturbaverit, nisi emendando satisfe[cerit, iram Dei omnipotentis incurrat et in

<sup>1</sup>monachorum (T).      <sup>2</sup>coguat (T).      <sup>3</sup>comperimus (T).

<sup>4</sup>volumus (T).      <sup>5</sup>imminuere (T).      <sup>6</sup>immunitatem (T).

<sup>7</sup>ita ut quod (T).      <sup>8</sup>ac (T).

and quarrels that may arise as a normal occurrence between our men and the monks' men, we order that it may be held there just as it was done in the time of our great-grandfather and grandfather and our father, and that, if an injustice be done to our provost by anyone of the monks' men, the provost shall not compel him to come to his court and to do justice; but rather, making a proclamation and stating a day, he may go to their court before the abbot or their provost and accept there whatever may be declared in their court, just as we find it was done by our grandfather. And this we will hold and order our posterity to hold, and similarly we order to be held by our men through all their obedientiaries. For we do not wish, in respect of the honour of that monastery that our great-grandfather gave to it and which our grandfather and father held, to infringe upon [it], but we wish and order to be conserved there that same liberty and immunity which they gave and held; on condition that, if anyone for any penalty or anything having angered us, in the press of fear may flee to the aforesaid burg, he may remain there free and quit while he makes a plea or departs in peace, just as always it was observed in the time of my great-grandfather and grandfather and father. If any king, count, bishop, judge or any other secular person may do an injury or disturb this gift and concession and charter of confirmation, unless he satisfies by correcting [it], may he incur the anger of Almighty God and may he be thrown under the rigour of punishment in the Last Judgment. This charter of confirmation was made in the year of the Incarnation of the

extremo examine ulcioni districte subiaceat. Facta est carta confirmationis huius anno ab Incarnatione Domini M<sup>0</sup>C<sup>0</sup>CX<sup>0</sup>IX<sup>0</sup>, in crastino inventionis Sancte Cr[ucis, apud Pictav]um. Huius autem carte isti sunt testes: Ademarus, abbas Sancti Maxencii;<sup>1</sup> Petrus, abbas Sancti Cipriani; Radulfus, comes Augi; Galfridus de Lezinan;<sup>2</sup> Iosbertus<sup>3</sup> de Guerchia; Simon de Lazay; [Longus] Ogerius;<sup>4</sup> Kalo<sup>5</sup> de Rupe Forti; Willelmus Lovel; Hamelinus<sup>6</sup> de Brolio; Radulfus de Faia; Willelmus de Faia; Willelmo de Bello Monte; Petrus Capicerius;<sup>7</sup> Rogerus, capellanus noster, qui cartam horum<sup>8</sup> l[iberta]tum scripsit; Willelmus, clericus noster; Willelmus de Lozaio, tunc prepositus Pictavensis, et multis aliis.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normanie, Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, iusticiis, prepositis, baillvis, et omnibus fidelibus suis, tam presentibus quam futuris, ad quos littere iste pervenient, salutem. Ad universorum noticiam volumus pervenire, defuncto<sup>9</sup> quod karissimo filio nostro R[ichardo], rege Anglie, accessimus monasterium ibi quas conquesta est nobis abbatissa Sancte Crucis Pictavensi et conventus eisdem loci, quod predictus filius noster rex eis

<sup>1</sup> Macxencii (T).      <sup>2</sup>Gaufridus de Lezignano (T).      <sup>3</sup>Iobertus (T).

<sup>4</sup>Oggerius (T).      <sup>5</sup>Chalo (T).      <sup>6</sup>Amelinus (T).

<sup>7</sup>Capiscerius (T).      <sup>8</sup>harum (T).

<sup>9</sup>Written above the line. A guess, since the word is obscurely abbreviated.

Lord 1199, the day after the discovery of the Holy Cross,<sup>1</sup> at Poitiers. Moreover, these are the witnesses to this charter: Ademar, abbot of Saint Maxent; Peter abbot of Saint Cyprian; Ralph, count of Agen; Geoffrey of Lusignan; Josbert of Guerche; Simon of Lezay; Laon Ogier; Châlon of Rochefort; William Lovel; Hamelin of Breuil; Ralph of Faye; William of Beaumont; Peter Capicerius; Roger, our chaplain, who wrote this charter of liberties; William, our clerk; William of Lezay, then provost of Poitiers, and many others.

No. 50.

Original: Poitiers. Archives de la Vienne. Originale, Sainte-Croix,  
no. 5.

Date: 5 May 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, justices, provosts, bailiffs, and all her faithful, both now as well as in the future, to whom these letters may reach, greetings. We wish to bring to the notice of all that, our most cherished son Richard, king of England, being dead, we accede to the monastery there those things which the abbess of Holy Cross at Poitiers and the convent in the same place complained about to us, that our aforesaid son the king took from them by force in their wood growing around Vales. Sustaining their complaints, and

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<sup>1</sup> 3 May.

vi<sup>1</sup> subripuerat nemora sua existencia circa Vall[e]s. Nos vero querimonium illarum adiuventes, et testimonium militum qui nobiscum aderant et gencium testicancium quod filius noster vi eadem nemora eis subripuerat audientes, reddidimus eisdem [nemora<sup>2</sup>] sua predicta tenenda libre, quiete, pacifice, et integre, sicuti ea unquam melius hab[ebant] et habue<sup>2</sup>]runt in tempore qui avi et patris nostri et aliorum antecessorum nostrorum, et concessimus et presenti [carta nostra<sup>2</sup>] roboramus et confirmavimus, ne in posterum aliqua inde questio posset oriri. Nomina autem eorum qui iuraverunt subscrisimus, ut in posterum in memoriam habeantur: Petrus de Frores, miles; Groleaus, miles; W. de Frores, miles; Petrus Padelop, serviens; Iohannis Bernardeaus; Guillonus Dencrever; R. Teobaudi Fainoilius; Petrus Guillo'; Babinus de Cornaio; Aimericus Guabar'; Petrus de Vales; quorum iuramenta acceperunt ex precepto nostro; dominus Calo de Rupe Forti; dominus Lannus Ogiers; consilio quorum et aliorum militum qui nobiscum aderant hanc concessionem fecimus. Hoc tantum retento, quod si dominus mosterolii vel servientes sui inveniunt aliquem abscidentem et capientem nemorum arbores, qui de iure hoc facere non debeat, nec fidem dare audeat quod ad proprium usum sine venditione illas capiat, illum detineat. Et si miles fuerit, accipiat de illo quinque solidos de vadio, tantum de servienti naturali, similiter de aliis septem solidos et dimidium. Actum publice apud mosterolium, anno Incarnatione Domine M<sup>O</sup>C<sup>O</sup>X<sup>O</sup> nono, tercio nonas Mai, residente Papa Innocentio .III., Mauricio existente

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<sup>1</sup>Written above the line.

<sup>2</sup>Obliterated by a mark on the MS.

hearing the testimony of knights who had consulted with us, and the witness of people that our son had taken this wood from them by force, we return to them their aforesaid wood to hold freely, quietly, peacefully, and wholly, just as they ever used to have and had it on the best terms in the time of our grandfather and father and our other ancestors, and we conceded and by our present charter we strengthened and confirmed it, lest in the future any question should arise on that account. Moreover, we have written below the names of those who were put to the oath, in order that they may be remembered in the future: Peter of Frozes, knight; Groleaus, knight; W. of Frozes, knight; Peter Pasdeloup, serjeant; John "Bernardeaus"; William Dencrever; R. Thibaut of "Fainoilius"; Peter "Guillo"; Babin of "Corniaio"; Amaury "Guabar"; Peter of Vales; whose oaths had been accepted by our precept; the lord Châlon of Rochefort; the lord Laon Ogier; by whose counsel and that of the other knights who consult with us we made this concession. With this reservation, that if the lord of the monastery or his servants discover anyone cutting or taking trees from the wood, which by right he ought not to do, and he does not dare to swear that it is for his own use without selling, he may be detained. And if he be a knight, he may take from him five shillings as security, as much from a ?native-born serjeant, [and] similarly from others seven and a half shillings. Decreed publicly at the monastery in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1199, the fifth of May, Pope Innocent the Third reigning, Maurice being bishop of Poitiers. The witnesses to these things: Laon Ogier; Châlon of Rochefort; William of Beaumont; William

Pictavensi episcopo. Is testibus: Lanno Ogierio; Calone de Rupe  
 Forti; W[illelmo] de Beaumont; W[illelmo] Locau; I., archipresbitero  
 de Araom; magistro Oliverio, canonico Beati Ilarii; Petro Borreau;  
 Ugone Baster; magistro Uchaor; Elia, fratre abbatisse predicte ecclesie  
 Sancte Crucis; et plures<sup>1</sup> alios.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitannie,  
 comitissa Andegavie, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scrip-  
 tum pervenerit, salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod  
 nos, pro salute et remedio anime nestre<sup>2</sup> et antecessorum et succes-  
 sorum nostrorum, donavimus Deo et ecclesie Fontis Ebraudi decem libras  
 annui redditus, Pictavensis monete, in prepositura reddituum nostro-  
 rum Oleronis, ad festum Sancti Michaelis singulis annis percipiendas,  
 ita tamen quod dominus Rogerus, capellanus noster et frater Fontis  
 Ebraudi, qui divina celebrabit in capella nostra quam apud Fontem  
 Ebraudi, in honore Beati Laurentii fundavimus, dictas decem libras

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<sup>1</sup> For pluribus.      <sup>2</sup> nostre.

"Locau"; I., chief priest of Aramon; master Oliver, canon of Saint Hilary; Peter Boreau; Hugh "Baster"; master "Uchaor"; Helie, brother of the abbess<sup>1</sup> of the aforesaid church of Holy Cross; and many others.

No. 51.

Original: Angers. Archives de Maine-et-Loire. Ile d'Oléron.

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 339-340.

Date: 1199.<sup>2</sup>

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy, Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to all the faithful in Christ to whom the present letter may reach, greetings in the Lord. Be it known to you all that, for the welfare and salvation of our soul and of our ancestors and successors, we gave to God and to the church of Fontevrault a rent of ten pounds annually, in Poitevin money, from our provostship rents of Oléron, to be collected at the feast of Saint Michael each year, on condition that the lord Roger, our chaplain and a brother of Fontevrault, who celebrated mass in our chapel at Fontevrault, which we founded in honour of Saint Laurence, may collect the said ten pounds annually as long as he lives. After the death of the aforesaid Roger, the abbess of Fontevrault may make

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<sup>1</sup>Anne (Richard, Poitou, ii.339).

<sup>2</sup>4 May (Richard, Poitou, ii.338).

annuatim percipiet quamdiu vixerit. Post decessum vero predicti Rogerii, abbatissa Fontis Ebraudi capellanum in eandem capellam insti-  
tui faciet quem voluerit de ordine suo, qui prenominatas decem libras ad sustentationem suam habebit ad vitam suam. Et omnes successores  
sui eundem redditum similiter habebunt et possidebunt imperpetuum. Et  
ut hec nostra donatio, quam in puram elemosinam prefate ecclesie et  
capellani Beati Laurentii donavimus, inconcussa permaneat in posterum,  
presentem cartam sigilli nostri appositione roboravimus, eamque sub  
protectione Dei et Beate Marie et Sancte Ecclesie et summi pontificis  
et Burdegalensis archiepiscopi et Pictavensis atque Xanctonensis epis-  
coporum ponimus et commendamus, ne in posterum ab aliquibus successor-  
ibus hec nostra donatio calumpniari attemptari, valeat vel infringi.  
Hiis testibus: Mauricio, Pictavensi episcopo; Henrico, Xanctonensi  
episcopo, quorum consilio hec donatio facta fuit; Gaufrido, decano;  
Hugone, subdecano; Guillelmo de Rupe; Willelmo de Sancto Laurentio;  
Willelmo Vimario, archidiacono Pictavensi; Radulfo de Faia, cognato  
nostro; Hamelino de Brolio et Petro Capicerio, militibus nostris;  
Matildi, vicecomitissa Oenaici; Rogero, Joscelino et Rannulfo, capel-  
lanis nostris; magistro Richardo et Gaufrido de Chinone, clericis  
nostris; Gaufrido de Calviniano, Gaufrido de Jaunaio et Willelmo,  
servientibus nostris. Data apud Pictavim, per manum Willelmo de  
Sancto Maxentio, clerici nostri, anno gratie MCLXXX<sup>o</sup> nono.

to be instituted as chaplain in that same chapel whomever she wishes from her order, who will have the aforesaid ten pounds for his sustenance for his life. And all his successors may have and possess the same gift similarly forever. And in order that this our gift, which we gave in pure alms to the aforesaid church and chapel of Saint Laurence, may remain unbroken to posterity, we strengthened the present charter by the apposition of our seal, and we place and commend it under the protection of God and of Blessed Mary and Holy Church and of the pope and the archbishop of Bordeaux and the bishops of Poitiers and Saintes, lest this our gift should be able to be brought into disrepute, attacked, or infringed in the future by any of our successors. The witnesses to these things: Maurice, bishop of Poitiers; Henry, bishop of Saintes,<sup>1</sup> by whose counsel this gift was made; Geoffrey, the deacon; Hugh, the subdeacon; William des Roches;<sup>2</sup> William of Saint Laurence; William "Vimario," archdeacon of Poitiers; Ralph of Faye, our relative; Hamelin of Breuil and Peter Capicerius, our knights; Matilda, viscountess of Aunay; Roger, Joscelin and Ralph, our chaplains; master Richard and Geoffrey of Chinon, our clerks; Geoffrey of Chauvigny, Geoffrey of Jaunay and William, our servants. Dated at Poitiers, by the hand of William of Saint Maxent, our clerk, in the year of grace 1199.

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<sup>1</sup>Henry I (1189-d.1219).

<sup>2</sup>The "most powerful baron in Anjou" (W. Lewis Warren, King John (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1961), 69).

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitannie, comitissa Andegavie, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in Domino. Quicquid volumus esse stabile et firmum, ut stabilius et firmius sit, commendamus testimonio litterarum. Noverit igitur universitas vestra nos, pro amore Dei et intuitu pietatis, dilecte nepti nostre Aelizie, filie felicis memorie Aelizie, quondam comitis Blesensis karissime filie nostre, dedisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse decem libras redditus Pictavensium monete, annuatim percipiendas in redditu nostro Oleronis ad terminum Sancti Micahelis, quamdiu vixerit in proprios usus libere et quiete tenendas et habendas. Post decessum vero predicte neptis nostre, supradictas decem libratas redditus dedimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Deo et Beate Marie et ecclesie Fontis Ebraldi, pro amore Dei et pro redemptione anime nostre et omnium

No. 52.

Original: Angers. Archives de Maine-et-Loire. Ile d'Oléron.

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 340-341.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to all the faithful of Christ to whom the present letter may reach, greetings in the Lord. Anything which we wish to be firm and stable, in order that it may be more stable and firm, we commend to the testimony of letters. Therefore, be it known to you all that we have given and by this our present charter confirmed, for the love of God and inspired by piety, to our beloved granddaughter Alix, daughter of Alix of happy memory, the late countess of Blois and our most cherished daughter,<sup>1</sup> a rent of ten pounds in Poitevin money, to be collected annually from our revenue of Oléron at Saint Michael's term, to hold and have freely and quietly for her own use as long as she lives. After the decease of our aforesaid granddaughter, the aforesaid rent of ten pounds we have given and by this our present charter confirmed to God and to Blessed Mary and the church of Fontevrault, for the love of God and for the redemption of our soul and of all our ancestors and our

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<sup>1</sup>Or Adele; the second child of Eleanor's marriage to Louis. Born in 1149, she married Thibaut of Blois. She died c1198.

antecessorum nostrorum et successorum nostrorum in puram et perpetuam  
elemosinam, libere et quiete iure perpetus possidendas et singulis  
annis ad prefatum terminum Sancti Micahelis in predicto redditu nostro  
Oleronis percipiendas, ad anniversarios iam dicte neptis nostre et  
matris eius in eadem ecclesia fatiendos. Et ut hec nostra donatio  
inconcussa permaneat in posterum, presentem cartam sigilli nostri  
appositione roboravimus, eamque sub protectione Dei et Beate Marie et  
Sancte Ecclesie et summi pontificis et episcoporum Pictavensis et  
Xanctonensis ponimus et commendamus, ne in posterum ab aliquibus suc-  
cessoribus nostris hec nostra donatio calumpniari attemptari, valeat  
vel infringi. Hiis testibus: Mauritio, Pictavensi episcopo; Henrico,  
Xanctonensi episcopo, quorum consilio et auctoritate hec donatio facta  
fuit et confirmata; Gaufrido, decano; Hugone, subdecano; Willelmo de  
Rupe; Willelmo de Sancto Laurentio; Willelmo Vimario, archidiaconis  
Pictavensibus; Radulfo de Faia, cognato nostro; Hamelino de Brolio et  
Petro Capiceri, militibus nostris; Matildi, vicecomitissa Oenaici;  
Rogero, Joscelino, Rannulpho, capellanis nostris; magistro Ricardo de  
Gnowesale et Gaufrido de Chinone, clericis nostris; Gaufrido de Cal-  
viniaco, Gaufrido de Iauneio, Willelmo, servientibus nostris. Data  
apud Pictavim, per manum Rogeri predicti, capellani nostri.

successors in pure alms forever, to be held freely and quietly with perpetual right and to be collected each year at the aforesaid Saint Michael's term from our aforesaid revenue of Oléron, to the making of the anniversary of the said our granddaughter and her mother in that same church. And in order that this our gift may remain undisturbed to posterity, we strengthened the present charter by the apposition of our seal, and we place and commend it under the protection of God and Blessed Mary and Holy Church and the pope and the bishops of Poitiers and Saintes, lest this our gift should be able to be brought into disrepute, attacked, or infringed in the future by any of our successors. The witnesses to these things: Maurice, bishop of Poitiers; Henry, bishop of Saintes, by whose counsel and authority this gift was made and confirmed; Geoffrey, the deacon; Hugh, the subdeacon; William des Roches; William of Saint Laurence; William "Vimario," archdeacon of Poitiers; Ralph of Faye, our relative; Hamelin of Breuil and Peter Capicerius, our knights; Matilda, viscountess of Aunay; Roger, Joscelin, Ralph, our chaplains; master Richard of "Gnowesale" and Geoffrey of Chinon, our clerks; Geoffrey of Chauvigny, Geoffrey of Jaunay, William, our servants. Dated at Poitiers, by the hand of the aforesaid Roger, our chaplain.

No. 53.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Denis de Sainte-Marthe, Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa . . . (16 vols.; Paris: [n.p.],

Alienor, Dei gratia humilis regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et Aquitanie, et comitissa Andegavensis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, seneschallis, prepositis, iustitiariis, ballivis, et universis tam futuris quam presentibus ad quos littere iste per-  
venerint, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti carta confir-  
masse abbatie de Gratia Sancte Marie, que est filia abbatie Gratiae-  
Dei, donum quod eidem abbatie fecit Otho, nepos noster, tunc dux  
Aquitanie et comes Pictaviensis, quam fundavit karissimus filius  
noster Ricardus, Dei gratia quondam venerabilis rex Anglie; videlicet,  
quicquid comes Pictaviensis habebat in blanchis de Rochella, et in  
Olerone redditum quemdam qui vocatur Mestiva de Trea, et quicquid ad  
eumdem redditum pertinet, et quicquid comes Pictaviensis habebat in  
censibus domorum de Olerone, et unam prourationem quam annuatim habe-  
bat in prioratu Sancti Petri de Olerone, et aliam prourationem cum  
uno sextario avene quem similiter annuatim habebat in villa que dicitur  
Alberium. Que ut perpetuo firma consistant, presentem cartam sigillo  
nostro fecimus sigillari. Hec inquam omnia pro remedio anime nostre

1715-1785), ii.389-390.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, seneschals, provosts, justiciars, bailiffs, and to all both in the future as well as in the present to whom these letters may reach, greetings. Be it known we have conceded and by the present charter have confirmed to the abbey of Holy Mary of Mercy, which is the daughter of the abbey of La Merci-Dieu, the gift which Otto, our grandson, at that time duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou,<sup>1</sup> made to the same abbey, which our most cherished son Richard, by the grace of God once venerable king of England, founded; all these things, namely, what the count of Poitou used to have in the woods of La Rochelle and in Oléron a certain estate which is called Mestiva de Trea, and what pertains to that same estate, and what the count of Poitou used to have in the rents of the houses of Oléron, and one procuration which they used to have annually in the priory of Saint Peter of Oléron, and another procuration with one pint of oats which he used to have annually similarly from the town which is called "Alberium." In order that they may continue the farm forever, we made the present charter to be sealed by our seal. Let me say [that]

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<sup>1</sup> Otto, the son of Eleanor's daughter Matilda and Henry of Saxony, was duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou from 1196 to 1198, when he gave up these titles to become Emperor Otto IV. He died in 1218.

et karissimi filii nostri Ricardi, regis Anglie, prefate ecclesie  
libere et quiete concessimus et confirmavimus. Datum apud Niortum,  
anno ab Incarnatione Domini M.C.XCIX., mense Maio. Testibus hiis:  
Guidone, abate Cistercii; Iohanne, abate Oratorii; Chalone de Rupe-  
forti; Longuo Ogerio; et pluribus aliis.

Alienor, Dei gratia humilis regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie,  
Aquitanie, et comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus,  
seneschallis, prepositis, iusticiariis, ballivis et universis tam pre-  
sentibus quam futuris ad quas littere pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis  
nos concessisse et in perpetuum et in presenti charta confirmasse di-  
lectis et fidelibus nostris universis hominibus de Rochella et eorum  
heredibus communiam iuratam apud Rochellam, ut tam nostra quam sua  
propria iura melius defendere possint et magis integre custodire,  
salva et retenta fidelitate nostra et heredum nostrorum, salvis etiam  
et illesis iuribus nostris et iuribus Sancte Ecclesie. Volumus igitur

we conceded and confirmed all these things to the aforesaid church freely and quietly for the welfare of our soul and of [the soul of] our most cherished son Richard, king of England. Dated at Niort, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1199, in the month of May. The witnesses to these things: Guy, abbot of the Cistercians; John, abbot of Loroux; P[eter] Bertin, then seneschal of Poitou; Châlon of Rochefort; Laon Ogier; and many others.

No. 54.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Louis Etienne Arcère, Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aulnais (2 vols.; La Rochelle: R. J. Desbordes, 1756-1757), ii.660-661, preuves.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, seneschals, provosts, justiciars, bailiffs and to all both now as well as in the future to whom these letters may reach, greetings. Be it known we have conceded forever and confirmed in the present charter to all our beloved and faithful men of La Rochelle and their heirs the right to a commune at La Rochelle, in order that both our and their proper rights may be better defended and more wholly protected, saving and reserving our fealty and our heirs[' fealty], also our rights and the rights of Holy Church.

et statuimus ut omnes libere et usitate consuetudines ville sue, quas antecessores eorum et ipsi sub antecessorum nostrorum et nostri domino antea hactenus tenuerint, ab eorum heredibus inviolabiliter observentur. Et ut adipcas manu tenendas et ad iura sua et nostra et heredum nostrorum defendenda, vim et posse communie sue, quam necesse fuerit, contra omnem hominem, salva fidelitate nostra et salvis iuribus et heredum nostrorum et iuribus Sancte Ecclesie, exerceant et apponant. Ut autem ipsi et eorum heredes communiam suam, ut par fuerit et iustas et usitatas consuetudines ville sue manu teneant in perpetuum et conservent, nos ad authoritatis perpetue robur cartam istam sigillo nostro fecimus sigillari. Datum apud Niortum anno Incarnati Verbi mil[lesim]o C<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>IX. Testibus: Petro Bertino, tunc seneschallo Pict[avensi]; Chalone de Rocheforti; Lanuo Ogerio; Raimundo de Ressa; magistro Hysemerto, tunc magistro scolarum Xanton[ensi]; Gaufrido de Chauvigne; Pascaudo [de Rochella]; Sancio de Bello Loco; David de Podio Liborelli; Guillelmo Teaudo; Petro de Faya; Phil[lippo] de Faya; Guillelmo Salomon; Amaurico de Cahurtio; Petro de Vouvant; Odone, abbate Anglie; et multis aliis. . . .

Therefore we wish and decree that all those free and usual customs of their city, which they and their ancestors held under the dominion of our ancestors and ourself previously up till now, shall be observed inviolate by their heirs. And in order to support themselves and their rights and to defend us and our heirs, they may exercise and apply the strength and ability of their commune against all men, when it will be necessary, saving our fealty and saving [our rights] and our heirs' and the rights of Holy Church. In order that they and their heirs should hold and conserve their commune forever, that through it will be [maintained] the just and usual customs of their city, we made this charter to be sealed with our seal to our perpetual authority [and] strength. Dated at Niort in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199. Witnesses: Peter Bertin, at that time seneschal of Poitou; Châlon of Rochefort; Laon Ogier; Raymond of Rex; master Isembert, at that time master of the schools of Saintes; Geoffrey of Chauvigny; Pascaud [of La Rochelle]; Sancho of Beaulieu; David of Puilboreau; William Téaud; Peter of Faye; Phillip of Faye; William Salomon; Amaury of Cahors; Peter of Vouvant; Odo, abbot of Angles; and many others. . . .

No. 55.

Original: Poitiers. Archives communales de Poitiers. Originale

A 1.

Printed Copy: Arthur Giry, Les établissements de Rouen (2 vols.); Paris: F. Vieweg, 1885), ii.143-144.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie,  
 comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, vicecomiti-  
 bus, baronibus, iustitiis, prepositis, bailivis et omnibus fidelli-  
 bus<sup>1</sup> suis ad quos presens pagina pervenerit, salutem in Domino.  
 Noverit universitas vestra nos reddidisse et presenti carta confir-  
 masse dilectis et fidelibus hominibus nostris de villa Pictavis  
 libertates et iura sua que antecessores eorum habuerunt et tenuerunt  
 tempore avi et patris nostri et aliorum predecessorum nostrorum,  
 videlicet, de filiabus<sup>2</sup> suis maritandis et de omnibus aliis feminis,  
 que maritande erunt in quocumque loco voluerint, aut extra villam  
 Pictavis aut infra villam. Et etiam concedimus eis ut, quando aliquis  
 eorum ad finem vite sue perveniens elemosinam<sup>3</sup> suam divisam habuerit,  
 plenarie et integre teneatur; et qui elemosinam illam violentiam<sup>4</sup>  
 fecerit, a domino ville Pictavis defendatur, custodiatur et teneri  
 cogatur. Adhuc vero eis<sup>5</sup> concedimus quod nulli eorum qui fideius-

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<sup>1</sup>fidelibus (T).      <sup>2</sup>filiabus (T).      <sup>3</sup>eleemosynam (T).

<sup>4</sup>violenter (T).      <sup>5</sup>iis (T).

Also in: Antoine René Hyacinthe Thibaudeau, Histoire du Poitou (3 vols.; Niort: Robin, 1839-1840), ii.417-418.

Partial copy: Marcel Garaud, "La charte de franchise accordée aux poitevins par Aliénor d'Aquitaine in 1199," Etudes d'histoire du droit privé offertes à Pierre Petot (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1959), 197.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, justices, provosts, bailiffs and to all her faithful to whom the present document may reach, greetings in the Lord. Be it known to you all [that] we have given and confirmed by the present charter to our beloved and faithful men of the city of Poitiers their liberties and rights which their ancestors had and held in the time of our grandfather and father and our other predecessors, namely, of the marrying of their daughters and of all other women, that they may be married in whatever place they wish, whether outside the city of Poitiers or inside the city. And likewise we concede to them that, when anyone of them coming to the end of his life will have rendered his alms bequest, it may be held fully and wholly; and who will have made an impetuous alms, it will be defended, will be guarded and will be compelled to be held by the lord of the city of Poitiers. In addition, we concede to them that none of them

sores stare iuri dare voluerint et potuerint<sup>1</sup> de aliquo forisfacto<sup>2</sup>  
 quod in villa fecerint, nisi murtrerii vel proditores seu latrones  
 fuerint, capiantur nec vi<sup>3</sup> retineantur neque manus in eis vel in  
 rebus suis violenter mittantur. Ad hec<sup>4</sup> illis concedimus quod si ali-  
 quis extraneus in villam Pictavis venerit causa manendi ibi, has pre-  
 dictas<sup>5</sup> libertates habeat ita libere et quiete, sicuti alii homines in  
 villa manentes habent et tenent. Huius vero donationis et quietatio-  
 nis<sup>6</sup> testes sunt: Karissima filia nostra Regina Iohanna; Petrus Ber-  
 tini, senescallus Pictavie; Lonus Ogerius,<sup>7</sup> Kalo de Rupeforti, mili-  
 tes nostri; A.,<sup>8</sup> abbas Sancti Maxentii; P., abbas Sancti Cypriani;  
 Savaricus de Chiriaco; Ogisius, filius suus; Vivianus Beidestrau;<sup>9</sup>  
 Petrus Bonini<sup>10</sup> et frater eius; Pascaudus de Rupela;<sup>11</sup> Savitius de  
 Rupella;<sup>12</sup> David de Podio Liborelli;<sup>13</sup> Santius de Rupela;<sup>14</sup> Gau-  
 fridus<sup>15</sup> de Calvinaco; Capicerius,<sup>16</sup> miles; et multi alii. Data  
 apud Niorthium<sup>17</sup> anno Verbi Incarnati millesimo centesimo nonagesimo<sup>18</sup>  
 nono.

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<sup>1</sup>iudicare voluerunt et potuerunt (T).      <sup>2</sup>forfacto (G).

<sup>3</sup>Omitted in Thibaudeau.      <sup>4</sup>Adhuc (T).      <sup>5</sup>prodictas (G).

<sup>6</sup>quietationis (T).      <sup>7</sup>Launus Ogerus (T).      <sup>8</sup>Omitted in Giry.

<sup>9</sup>Berdestran (T).      <sup>10</sup>Bonnii (T).      <sup>11</sup>Rupella (T).

<sup>12</sup>Omitted in Giry.      <sup>13</sup>Liborolli (T).      <sup>14</sup>Sanctius de Rupella (T).

<sup>15</sup>Gaufredus (T).      <sup>16</sup>Capicerius (T).      <sup>17</sup>Niortum (T).

<sup>18</sup>quadragesimo (T).

who wish and are able to provide fideiussores<sup>1</sup> to stand trial concerning any wrong which they have done in the city, unless they are murderers or traitors or thieves, shall be captured or held by force or shall violent hands be laid on them or their goods. Furthermore, we concede to them that if any outsider enters the city of Poitiers for the sake of remaining there, he shall have these aforesaid liberties there freely and without contention, just as other men staying in the city have and hold. The witnesses to this gift and immunity are: Our dearly beloved daughter Queen Joanna;<sup>2</sup> Peter Bertin, the seneschal of Poitou; Laon Ogier, Châlon of Rochefort, our knights; A[demar], abbot of Saint Maxent; P[eter], abbot of Saint Cyprian; Savary of Chiré-les-Bois; Ogisius, his son; Vivian Berdestran; Peter "Bonini" and his brother; Pascaud of La Rochelle; "Savitius" of La Rochelle; David of Puilboreau; Sancho of La Rochelle; Geoffrey of Chauvigny; "Capicerius," knight; and many others. Dated at Niort in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199.

No. 56.

Original: Location unknown.

<sup>1</sup>This word is usually translated as "pledges" or "those who give surety" but its meaning includes the understanding of the full legal responsibility of the stand-in.

<sup>2</sup>Joanna was born in 1165 and married the king of Sicily, William II "the Good" in 1177. After his death she married Raymond VI, count of Toulouse. She survived her brother Richard by only a few months, dying in childbirth at Rouen.

Alienor, Dei gracia humilis regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie,  
 Aquitanie et comitissa Andegavensis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, com-  
 itibus,<sup>1</sup> baronibus, senescallis, prepositis, iusticiariis,<sup>2</sup> baillivis  
 et universis tam futuris quam presentibus<sup>3</sup> ad quos littere iste per-  
 venerint, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse in perpetuum et presenti  
 carta confirmasse dilectis et fidelibus nostris universis<sup>1</sup> hominibus  
 de Pictavi et eorum heredibus communiam iuratam apud Pictavim, ut tam  
 nostra quam sua propria iura<sup>1</sup> melius defendere possint et magis in-  
 tegre custodire, salva tamen et retenta fidelitate nostra, salvis tam  
 iuribus nostris et heredum nostrorum et iuribus Sancte Ecclesie.  
 Volumus igitur<sup>4</sup> et statuimus ut omnes libere et usitate consuetudines  
 ville sue, quas antecessores eorum et ipsi sub antecessorum nostrorum  
 et nostri dominio<sup>5</sup> hactenus habuerunt,<sup>6</sup> eisdem et eorum heredibus in-  
 violabiliter observentur. Et ut ad ipsas manutenendas et ad iura  
 sua et<sup>7</sup> nostra et heredum nostrorum defendenda, vim et posse communie-  
 sue, quando necesse fuerit, contra omnem hominem, salva fidelitate  
 nostra et iure nostro et heredum nostrorum, salvio etiam iure Sancte  
 Ecclesie, exerceant et apponant. Ut autem ipsi et eorum heredes  
 communiam suam libere et quiete manuteneant et liberas et usitatas

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in Thibaudeau.

<sup>2</sup> iustitiis (T).

<sup>3</sup> tam presentibus quam futuris (T).      <sup>4</sup> ergo (T).

<sup>5</sup> nostro Domino (T).      <sup>6</sup> habuerint (T).

<sup>7</sup> sua et omitted in Thibaudeau.

Printed Copy: Arthur Giry, Les établissements de Rouen (2 vols.);  
Paris: F. Vieweg, 1885), ii.145-146.  
Also in: Antoine René Hyacinthe Thibaudeau, Histoire du Poitou  
(3 vols.; Niort: Robin, 1839-1840), ii.418-419.  
Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, seneschals, provosts, justiciars, bailiffs and to all both in the future as well as in the present to whom this letter may reach, greetings. Be it known that we have conceded forever and confirmed by the present charter to all our beloved and faithful men of Poitiers and their heirs the right of a commune at Poitiers, in order that both our as well as their proper rights may be better defended and more wholly protected, nevertheless saving and reserving our fealty, likewise saving our rights and our heirs', and the rights of Holy Church. Therefore, we wish and decree that all free and usual customs of their city, which they and their ancestors have had under the dominion of ourselves and our ancestors up till now, will be kept inviolate by them and their heirs. And in order to support themselves and their rights and to defend us and our heirs, they may exercise and apply the strength and ability of their commune against all men, when it will be necessary, saving our fealty and our right and our heirs', likewise saving the right of Holy Church. Moreover, in order that they and their heirs may maintain their

consuetudines ville sue custodiant et defendant, nos, ad perpetue<sup>1</sup>  
robur auctoritatis,<sup>2</sup> litteras istas sigillo nostro fecimus sigillari.  
Datum apud Niortum, anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo C<sup>o</sup>X<sup>c</sup> IX<sup>o</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Testi-  
bus: Petro Bertino, tunc senescallo Pictavensi;<sup>4</sup> Chalone de Rocha- .  
forti; Launo Ogerio; Gaufrido<sup>5</sup> de Chauvigne; domino Capicerio; abbe  
Sancti Maxencii; Petro, abbe Sancti Cipriani; Iohanne Borser;  
Savarico; Arnaudo Pingui; et multis aliis.

Alienora, Dei gratia humilis regina Anglie, ducissa Normanie et  
Aquitanie, et comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comiti-  
bus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, senescallis, prepositis, iusticiariis,  
ballivis et universis tam futuris quam presentibus ad quos littere  
iste pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti carta  
nostra in perpetuum confirmasse dilectis et fidelibus nostris universis  
iuratis communie Oleronis, et eorum heredibus perpetuam stabilitatem

<sup>1</sup>perpetum (T).      <sup>2</sup>authoritatis (T).      <sup>3</sup>centesimo quadragesimo  
nono (T).      <sup>4</sup>Pictavi (T).      <sup>5</sup>Gauffredo (T).

commune freely and quietly and may guard and defend the free and usual customs of their city, we made these letters to be sealed by our seal, to the perpetual strength of our authority. Dated at Niort, in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199. Witnesses: Peter Bertin, then seneschal of Poitou; Châlon of Rochefort; Laon Ogier; Geoffrey of Chauvigny; the lord "Capicerius"; [Ademar,] the abbot of Saint Maxent; Peter, abbot of Saint Cyprian; John "Borser"; Savary; Arnold "Pingui"; and many others.

No. 57.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Louis Etienne Arcère, Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aulnis (2 vols.; La Rochelle: R. J. Desbordes, 1756-1757), ii.639-640.

Also in: Foedera, conventiones, literae, . . ., comp. Thomas Rymer (18 vols.; London: A. & J. Churchill, 1704-1726), i.111.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, seneschals, provosts, justiciars, bailiffs and to all both in the future as well as in the present to whom these letters may reach, greetings. Be it known to you that we have conceded and confirmed by our present charter forever to our beloved liegemen all the rights of a commune at Oléron, and to their

et inviolatam firmitatem communie sue iurate apud Oleronem, ut tam nostra quam sua propria iura melius defendere possint et magis integre custodire, salva in omnibus et retenta fidelitate nostra et heredum nostrorum, salvo iure nostro et heredum nostrorum, salva etiam libertate, et salvis iuribus Sancte Ecclesie, que perfecte et integre precipimus observari. Volumus igitur et precipimus ut ipsi et eorum heredes iustas et liberas consuetudines terre sue custodi- ant, defendant et teneant, sicut antecessores eorum eas sub anteces- sorum nostrorum dominio tenuerunt, et ut ad ipsas custodiendas, de- fendendas et tenendas, totam vim et totam posse communie sue, salva fidelitate nostra et heredum nostrorum contra omnem hominem, si necesse fuerit, exerceant et apponant. Ut autem hec nostra concessio sive confirmatio perpetuam autoritatem et plenum robur obtineat, nos cartam istam sigillo nostro fecimus sigillari. Dat[um] apud Andil- liacum, anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo nonagesimo nono.  
Testibus: Domino Henrico, tunc Xancton[ensi] episcopo; Petro Bertino, tunc senescallo Pictavie; Launo Ogerio; Chalone de Roch Forti; Gauf[rido] de Chauvigne; Himberto de For; Willelmo "Bormaut"; Iohanne Roilloy; Iohanne Vitale; Iohanne; Ioscelino; et multis aliis.

heirs perpetual stability and inviolate firmness of their commune rights at Oléron, in order that both our as well as their proper rights may be better defended and more wholly guarded, saving and reserving in everything fidelity to us and our heirs, [and] saving the liberty and rights of Holy Church, which we order to be observed perfectly and wholly. Therefore, we wish and we instruct that those [men] and their heirs may guard, defend and hold their lands and their rights and free customs, just as their ancestors held them under the lordship of our ancestors, and that those guarding, defending and holding may exercise and apply all the strength and power of their commune against all men, saving fidelity to us and our heirs, if it is necessary. Moreover, in order that this our concession or confirmation may obtain perpetual authority and full strength, we have made this our charter to be sealed by our seal. Dated at Andilly, in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199. Witnesses: The Lord Henry, then bishop of Saintes; Peter Bertin, then seneschal of Poitou; Laon Ogier; Châlon of Rochefort; Geoffrey of Chauvigny; Humbert of Fors; William "Bormaut"; John "Roilloy"; John "Vitale"; John; Joscelin; and many others.

No. 58.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Louis Etienne Arcère, Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aulnis (2 vols.; La Rochelle: R. J. Desbordes, 1756-1757), ii.640.

Alienora, . . . Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti carta nostra in perpetuum confirmasse dilectis et fidelibus nostris universis hominibus de Olerone et eorum heredibus, ut de puellis et viduis suis nuptui tradendis et de masculis suis uxorandis et de ballio puellarum et viduarum et masculorum suorum habendo sine nostri et nostrorum heredum contradictione ad voluntatem suam licite faciant in perpetuum et secure. Concessimus etiam ut ipsis et eorum heredibus vina sua et sal suum et omnes coeteras res venales nullius obstante inhibitione vendere et quolibet modo distrahere liceat. Concessimus etiam ipsis et eorum heredibus ut in ultimis testamentis suis res et possessiones suas divident ad voluntatem suam, vel ad voluntatem amicorum suorum, si forte aliqui ex eis preoccupati vel occisi copiam et posse non habuerint, testamentum ipsum disponendi. Omnes etiam pravas consuetudines que apud Oleronem imposite sunt ex quo venerabilis et illustris vir, dominus noster Henricus, rex Anglie, nobiscum matrimonium contraxit, quassamus in perpetuum et penitus abolemus, volentes et precipientes ut predicti homines de Olerone et eorum heredes iustas et liberas consuetudines terre sue custodiant et habeant, sicut antecessores eorum sub nostrorum antecessorum dominio tenuerunt. . . . Datum apud Andilliacum anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo.

Also in: Foedera, conventiones, literae, . . ., comp. Thomas Rymer (18 vols.; London: A. & J. Churchill, 1704-1726), i.111-112.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, . . . Be it known that we have conceded and by our present charter confirmed forever to all our beloved and faithful men of Oléron and their heirs, that it is permissible [that] they may make at their own wish the giving in marriage of girls and widows and the marrying of their men and may have the wardship of their girls and widows and men without the opposition of us and our heirs. Also we concede that no one may be allowed to prevent or inhibit or in any way to frustrate them or their heirs from selling their wine and salt and all other things for sale. Also we concede to them and their heirs that they may divide their goods and possessions at will in their last bequests, or at the wish of their friends placing that bequest in order, if by chance anyone of them having been taken by surprise or having been killed did not have a copy or the ability [to make one]. Likewise, all those bad customs that were imposed at Oléron since the venerable and illustrious man, our lord Henry, king of England, concluded a marriage [contract] with us, we break forever and abolish thoroughly, wishing and decreeing that the aforesaid men of Oléron and their heirs may have and keep their just and free customs of their land, just as their ancestors held under the dominion of our ancestors. . . . Dated at Andilly in the year of the Incar-

simo centesimo nonagesimo nono. Testibus: Domino Henrico, Xanton-[ensi] episcopo; Petro Bertino, tunc senescalculo<sup>1</sup> Pictavie; Launo Ogerio; Chalone de Roch Forti; Gaufridi de Cauvigne; Hymberto de Forum; Willelmo Bormant; Iohanne Roilloy; Iohanne Vitale; Iohanne; Ioscelino; et multis aliis.

Alienor, Dei gratia humilis regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie et comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitiis, vicecomitibus, baronibus, senescallis, prepositis, iusticiis, ballivis et universis tam futuris quam presentibus ad quoscumque littere iste pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse in puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam et in perpetuum concessisse Deo et ecclesie Fontis Ebraudi, ad servicium religiosarum ancillarum Christi ibidem Deo servientium, pro salute animarum illustrissimorum regum Anglie, videlicet, domini Henrici, viri nostri, et domini Ricardi, filii nostri, et nostre, dilectum et fidelem hominem nostrum Petrum Fulcherium de Rochela, et heredes eius, liberos in perpetuum et immunes ab omnibus talliatibus, questis et exactionibus, exercitibus,

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<sup>1</sup> senescalculo.

nation of the Word 1199. Witnesses: The lord Henry, bishop of Saintes; Peter Bertin, then seneschal of Poitou; Laon Ogier; Châlon of Rochefort; Geoffrey of Chauvigny; Humbert of Fors; William "Bormant"; John "Roilloy"; John "Vitale"; John; Joscelin; and many others.

No. 59.

Original: Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Chartes originales.

Poitiers, no. 8.

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 134-135.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, seneschals, provosts, justices, bailiffs and to all both in the future as well as the present to whom this letter may reach, greetings. Let it be known that we have given in pure and free and perpetual alms and have conceded forever to God and to the church of Fontevrault, to the service of the religious maidservants serving God in the same place, for the welfare of the souls of the most illustrious kings of England, namely, of the lord Henry, our husband, and of the lord Richard, our son, and of our own [soul], our beloved and faithful man Peter Foucher of La Rochelle, and his heirs, forever free and immune from all tolls, quêtes and

equitationibus et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et serviciis que domino Pictavie in terra sua fieri consueverunt. Volumus igitur, precepimus et statuimus ut Petrus Fulcherius et heredes eius libertatem suam perpetuam, plenariam et quietam habeant, sicut ipsis eam libera voluntate donavimus et presenti carta nostra confirmavimus; nec ulli hominum liceat libertatis istius integritatem aliquantulum ledere nec minuere nec in aliquo violare. Quod si quis attemptare presumeserit, periculum corporis et rerum tantundem incurrat in manu domini Pictavie, ac si ipsum Sancte Ecclesie oratorium violasset. Ut autem hec nostra elemosina, iuste et licite et libere facta, maneat in posterum inconcussa, nos cartam istam, ad perpetue robur auctoritatis, sigilli nostri munimine fecimus insigniri. Datum apud Rochelam anno Incarnati Verbi M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>. Testibus: Petro Bertino, tunc senescallo de Pictavie; Calone de Rocha Forti; Launo Ogerio; Willelmo de Montemirallo, tunc maiore in communia de Rochela; Bernardo de Rofec; Sancio de Bello Loco, tunc preposito de Rochela; David de Podio Liborelli; Hysemberto, tunc magistro scolarum Xancton[ens]lis; Gardrado, priore Sancti Vivi-ani; Nicholao, priore Sancte Katerine; et multis aliis.

exactions, war service and escort duty, and all other customs and services which the lord of Poitiers has been accustomed to have in his land. Therefore we wish, decree and decide that Peter Foucher and his heirs may have this liberty forever, fully and quietly, just as we have given of our free will to him and have confirmed it by our present charter; neither may it be allowed to any man to tax or diminish at any time the integrity of that liberty or in any way to violate it. Because if anyone presume to attempt it, may he meet danger of body and of goods by the hand of the lord of Poitiers, just as if he violated an oratory of Holy Church. However, in order that this our alms, rightly and justly and freely made, may remain to future time unbroken, we made this our charter to be sealed with our seal, to the perpetual strength of [our] authority. Dated at La Rochelle in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199. Witnesses: Peter Bertin, then seneschal of Poitou; Châlon of Rochefort; Laon Ogier; William of Montmirail, then mayor of the commune of La Rochelle; Bernard of Ruffec; Sancho of Beaulieu, then provost of La Rochelle; David of Puilboreau; Isembert, then master of the school of Saintes; "Gardrado," prior of Saint Vivian; Nicholas, prior of Saint Catherine; and many others.

No. 60.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: (Abbé) Charles Métais, "Cartulaire saintongeais de La Trinité de Vendôme," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavorum, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, prepositis, baillivis, et omnibus amicis et fidelibus suis, tam presentibus quam futuris. Noverit universitas vestra nos presenti carta confirmasse domui de Podio Revelli iura et omnes libertates suas quas habuit a nobis et predecessoribus nostris. Sciatis autem nos in dono quod fecimus Willelmo Maengoti, scilicet de Surgeres, nil illis nec altero alio dedisse in domo de Podio Revelli nec in pertinentiis eius, sed ipsam in protectione Dei et nostra specialiter suscepimus. Quare vos archiepiscopi et episcopi teneri et custodiri faciatis. Ipsas vero libertates sepedicte domui reddidimus et sigilli nostri munimine roboravimus. Apud Rupellam. Hiis testibus: Karissima filia mea Regina Iohanna; Teobaldo, priore S[ancti] Egidii de Surgeriis; Petro, priore de Podio Revelli; Rogero, capitano nostro; Hamelino de Brolio, Petro Capicerio, militibus nostris; Villelmo de Sancto Mayentio, clero nostro; et aliis. Datum anno Incarnati Verbi 1199.

de l'Aunis, 22(1893), 117-118.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, provosts, bailiffs, and all her friends and faithful, both in the present as well as in the future. Be it known to you all that we have confirmed by the present charter to the priory of Puyravault all their rights and liberties which it had from us and our predecessors. Moreover, be it known that in the gift which we made to William Maingot, namely of Surgères, neither to him nor to any other did we give anything in the priory of Puyravault or in any of its appurtenances, but we took it specifically into the protection of God and ourself. Wherefore, the archbishops and bishops will make [it] to be held and kept. Those things truly we restored to the aforesaid priory and strengthened by the defence of our seal. At La Rochelle. The witnesses to these things: My dearly beloved daughter Queen Joanna; Theobald, prior of Saint Egidius of Surgères; Peter, prior of Puyravault; Roger, our captain; Hamelin of Breuil, Peter Capicerius, our knights; William of Saint Maxent, our clerk; and others. Dated in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199.

No. 61.

Original: Poitiers. Archives de la Vienne. Originales, Commanderie du Perrot, i.

Printed Copy: L. M. de Richemond, "Chartes de la Commanderie magis-

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, prepositis, baillivis et omnibus fidelibus suis, tam futuris quam presentibus, ad quos presens carta pervenerit. Noverit universitas vestra et nos concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse, pro salute pie memorie anime Regis Richardi, filii nostri, et Regis Henrici, quondam domini nostri, et pro salute nostra et predecessorum et successorum nostrorum, militibus Templi, quod homines sui de Rochella sint quieti de equitatibus, exercitibus, de bienniis<sup>1</sup> et eschogartis et de omnibus, et hoc idem concessimus eis de omnibus hominibus eorum. . . . Preterea dedimus eisdem militibus et hac carta nostra confirmavimus universas domos et plateas, quas ipsi in Rochella, aut homines sui ab eis habendas et tenendas imperpetuum liberas et quietas ab omni censu et ab omni consuetudinibus, quas in eis habuimus. Concedimus etiam et confirmamus donationem quam eis fecit Eblo de Malleone de centum solidis de redditibus singulis annis Rochellae, eis reddendis in perpetuam elemosynam. Preterea damus eis et confirmamus calceam de Perroc et molendina, que fecerunt vel facturi sunt circa eamdem calceam et placeam, ex utraque parte usque ad metas terre

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<sup>1</sup> A Poitevin word, meaning a corvée.

trale du Temple de La Rochelle," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 1(1874), 30-32.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, provosts, bailiffs and all her faithful both in the future as well as the present to whom the present charter may reach. Be it known to you all [that] we have conceded and by the present charter confirmed to the Templars, for the welfare of the souls and in pious memory of King Richard, our son, and King Henry, our late lord, and for the welfare of our own [soul] and our predecessors and successors, that their men of La Rochelle may be quit of escort duty, war service, of corvée and guard service, and of all things, and this same we concede to them of all their men. . . . Moreover, we gave and confirmed by this our charter to those knights all houses and streets, that they or their men having and holding from them in La Rochelle may be free and quit from all rents and from all customs which we had in them. Also we concede and confirm the gift which Eblo of Mauléon made to them of one hundred shillings from rents every year at La Rochelle, giving them in perpetual alms. Moreover, we give and confirm to them the causeway of Perrot and the mills, which they made or may be about to make around that causeway and square, from each side up to the land boundaries of the brothers' hospital. The witnesses to these things: Peter Bertin, seneschal of Poitou; Hugh le Brun; Ralph, . . . the count of Agen;

fratrum hospital. Istis testibus: Petro Bertini, senescallo Pic-  
tav[ensi]; Hugone Bruni; Rad[ulphus], . . . comite Aug[i]; domino  
Henrico, episcopo Xanton[ensi]. Datum apud Sanctum Iohannem Angeli-  
acensem anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo nonagesimo nono.

Alyenor, Dei gratia regina Anglorum, ducissa Normanie et Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavensis, universis archiepiscopis, episcopis et aliis ecclesiarum prelatis, ducibus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiar-iis, ballivis et omnibus aliis tam presentibus quam futuris ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, salutem et omne bonum. Ad observationem horum que a predecessoribus nostris locis religiosis pia sunt intentione collata studium et omnem sollicitudinem adhibere volumus et debemus. Inde est quod cum monachi Sancti Eutropii nobis in multorum presentia conquesti fuissent sibi super libertate podii Sancti Eutropii et hominum inhabitantium inibi ab avo et illustris memorie duce Aquitanie, Willelmo, patre nostro, eidem ecclesie Sancti Eutropii et monachis eiusdem loci pro remedio anime sue ac suorum [concessa], in-  
iuriam sibi a ministris bone memorie patris<sup>1</sup> nostri Richardi, regis Anglorum, ducis Normannie et Aquitanie, comitis Andegavensis, non modicam irrogari, fidemque nobis per exhibitionem instrumenti super

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<sup>1</sup> For filii.

the lord Henry, bishop of Saintes. Dated at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in  
the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199.

No. 62.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Louis Audiat, "Saint Eutrope et son prieuré," Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 2(1875), 270-271.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to all archbishops, bishops and all other prelates of the churches, to the dukes, counts, barons, justices, bailiffs and all others both in the present as well as in the future to whom these present letters may reach, greetings and all good [things]. We wish and we ought to bring devotion and all solicitude to the observation of those things which are bestowed by our predecessors with the intention of piety upon religious places. It is in respect thereof that, since the monks of Saint-Eutrope had complained vigourously to us in the presence of many over the liberty of the estate of Saint-Eutrope and the men living there, held by our grandfather and our father William of illustrious memory, duke of Aquitaine, which he conceded to that same church of Saint-Eutrope and the monks in that place for the welfare of his soul and his successors, I cannot meanly ordain the injury done to them by the servants of our son of happy memory, Richard, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, and they showed their good

concessione predicta sibi facta pleniores fecissent. Nos pro remissione peccatorum iamdicti filii nostri et nostrorum, sapientiam liberatem memorare ecclesie et monachis loci eiusdem, in presentia patris nostri in Christo Henrici, episcopi, et R., archidiaconi Xanctonensis, et aliorum multorum, cum omni integritate restituimus, concedimus et donamus, et sigilli nostri munimine confirmamus. Ad maiorem vero cautelam tenorem instrumenti de verbo ad verbum presenti duximus inserendum, quod tale est: "Ego Guillelmus, Dei gratia dux Aquitanie, Pontio, priori Sancti Eutropii, et successoribus eius in perpetuum, multorum relatione et testimonio veriori," etc. . . . Actum est hoc apud Sanctum Iohannem Angeliensem, anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCXCIX, indictione I, epacta XXII, concurente IIII.

Alienor, Dei gratia humilis<sup>1</sup> regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie,

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<sup>1</sup> Omitted in Besly.

faith with us by exhibiting the charters which made clear the aforesaid gift. For the remission of the sins of our aforesaid son and of ourself, we restore, we concede and we give, and we confirm with the defence of our seal, the aforesaid liberty with all integrity to the oft-mentioned church and the monks in that place, in the presence of our father in Christ Henry, bishop [of Saintes], and Ralph Barbotin, archdeacon of Saintes, and of many others. We direct the inserting, as a major precaution, of the tenor of the instrument word for word, which is the following: "I William, by the grace of God duke of Aquitaine, to Poncio, the prior of Saint-Eutrope and to his successors forever, the relation and testimony of many to be respected," etc. (as above). This was decreed at Saint-Jean-d'Angély, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1199, the first indiction, the twenty-second epact, the concurrent being four.

No. 63.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: Paris. Archives Nationales. Layettes du trésor des chartes.

J. 180. Poitou, no. 40. Copie ancienne.

Printed Copy: Alexandre Teulet, Layettes du trésor des chartes (5 vols.; Paris: Plon, 1863-1909), i.208-209.

Also in: Jean Besly, Histoire des comtes de Poictou et ducs de Guyenne (Paris: G. Alliot, 1647), 496-497, preuves.

Date: June 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God humble queen of England, duchess

Aquitanie, et comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comiti-  
bus,<sup>1</sup> vicecomitibus, baronibus, senescallis,<sup>2</sup> prepositis, iusticiar-  
iis,<sup>3</sup> ballivis et universis tam futuris quam presentibus<sup>4</sup> ad quos lit-  
tere iste pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse in perpetuum  
et presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilectis et fidelibus nostris  
universis iuratis communie Xanctonensis et eorum heredibus perpetuam  
stabilitatem et inviolatam firmitatem communie sue iurate apud Xanc-  
tenas, ut tam nostra<sup>5</sup> quam sua propria<sup>6</sup> iura melius possint defendere<sup>7</sup>  
et magis integre custodire, salva tamen et retenta fidelitate nostra,  
et iure nostro et heredum nostrorum, salvo eciam iure sancte et vener-  
abilis ecclesie Beati Petri Xanctenensis et omnium aliarum ecclesiarum,  
salvis eciam iuribus episcopi Xanctenensis retentisque et observatus  
eius<sup>8</sup> privilegiatis consuetudinibus ad dominium episcopatus et eccl-  
sie libertatem pertinentibus, sicut consueverunt hactenus observari,  
salvo eciam iure Gaufridi Martelli et heredum suorum. Volumus igitur,  
precipimus et statuimus ut omnes liberas consuetudines urbis Xancten-  
ensis teneant in perpetuum, custodiant, manuteneant, et defendant,<sup>9</sup>  
et ut ad eas manutenendas, custodiendas et defendendas,<sup>10</sup> et ad iura  
nostra et heredum nostrorum et ad sua iura propria et Sancti Ecclesie  
et episcopatus conservanda, totam vim et totum posse communie sue,

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<sup>1</sup>Omitted in Teulet.

<sup>2</sup>seneschallis (B).

<sup>3</sup>iusticiis (B).

<sup>4</sup>tam presentibus quam futuris (B).

<sup>5</sup>nostram (B).

<sup>6</sup>propria

sua (B).

<sup>7</sup>deffendere (B).

<sup>8</sup>suis (B).

<sup>9</sup>deffendant (B).

<sup>10</sup>deffendendas (B); defendendas (T).

of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, seneschals, provosts, justiciars, bailiffs and to all both in the future as well as in the present to whom this letter may reach, greetings. Be it known that we have conceded forever and confirmed by our present charter to all our beloved and faithful of the commune of Saintes and to their heirs forever the perpetual stability and inviolate firmness of their sworn commune at Saintes, in order that both our rights as well as theirs may be better defended and more wholly protected, nevertheless saving and reserving our fealty, and our right and our heirs', likewise saving the right of the holy and venerable church of Saint Peter of Saintes and of all other churches, likewise saving the rights of the bishop of Saintes and reserving his privileges and observing the customs to the lordship of the diocese and the liberty pertaining to the church, just as they were accustomed to be observed up to now, likewise saving the right of Geoffrey Martell and his heirs. Therefore we wish, order and determine that they may hold forever, they may keep, may maintain and defend, all customs free in the city of Saintes, and in order to maintain, keep and defend these [rights], and to conserve our rights and our heirs' and their own particular rights and [those] of Holy Church and the diocese, they may carry into effect and apply all the strength and all the ability of their commune against all men, saving our fealty and our heirs', if it is necessary. Moreover, we concede that they and their heirs may have freely and securely the marrying of girls and widows at their pleasure, and young men to marry, and have

salva fidelitate nostra et heredum nostrorum, contra omnem hominum,  
 si necesse fuerit, exerceant et apponant.<sup>1</sup> Concedimus etiam ut eis  
 et eorum heredibus ad libitum suum pueras et viduas suas nuptui tra-  
 dere, et iuvenes uxorare, et ballia iuvenum et puellarum sive viduar-  
 um habere sine aliqua contradictione, libere liceat et secure, et  
 ultima testamenta sua prout voluerint ordinare, sive ore proprio<sup>2</sup> sive  
 per ministerium amicorum. Precipimus autem<sup>3</sup> ad ultimum ut communiam  
 suam teneant secundum formam<sup>4</sup> et modum communie de Rochella. Ut autem  
 tam ipsi quam eorum heredes hanc confirmacionem nostram imperpetuum  
 libere habeant et quiete, nos ad perpetue robur auctoritatis cartam  
 istam sigillo nostro fecimus sigillari. Datum apud Xanctonas anno  
 Incarnati Verbi M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.<sup>5</sup> Testibus: Petro Bertini, tunc senes-  
 callo Pictavensi; Lanno Agerio; Chalone de Rochaforti; Willemo de  
 Mause; Gaufrido Martello; domino Henrico, tunc Xanctonensi episcopo;  
 domino Gaufrido, decano; Ramnulfo<sup>6</sup> Barbotin, tunc archidiacono Xanc-  
 tonensi; Peroncio,<sup>8</sup> canonico Xanctonensi; et multis aliis.<sup>9</sup>

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et Aqui-  
 tanie, comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, vice-

<sup>1</sup> apporiant (B).      <sup>2</sup> proprio ore (B).      <sup>3</sup> as (B).

<sup>4</sup> formam (B; T).      <sup>5</sup> 1199 (B).      <sup>6</sup> Ranulfo (AN).      <sup>7</sup> Poncio (T).

<sup>8</sup> Besly's list of witnesses: Petro Bertini tunc Senescall. Pictav.  
Gaufrido Martello, Domino Henrico Dioc. Xanton Episcopo, Domino  
 Gaufrido Decano, Radulfo Marcello, Challone de Rocaforti, Vvillelmo  
 de Mause, Ramnulpho Barbontin. Archidiac. Xanton. & multis aliis.

wardship of youths and girls or widows without anyone's objection, and their last will set in order just as they wish, whether by their own mouth or through the aid of friends. Moreover, we order at last they may hold the commune following the form and way of the commune of La Rochelle. Moreover, in order that both they as well as their heirs may have this our confirmation freely and quietly forever, we made this charter to be sealed by our seal to the perpetual strength of our authority. Dated at Saintes in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199. Witnesses: Peter Bertin, then seneschal of Poitou; Laon Ogier; Châlon of Rochefort; William of Mauzé; Geoffrey Martell; the lord Henry, then bishop of Saintes; the lord Geoffrey, the deacon; Ralph Barbotin, then archdeacon of Saintes; "Peroncio," canon of Saintes; and many others.

No. 64.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: London. Public Record Office. C 52 (Cartae Antiquae Roll), 33, no. 22.

Date: After May 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, provosts, bailiffs and to all her friends and faithful both in the future as well as in the present to whom these letters may reach, greetings. Be it known to you all that we have given, conceded, and by this our present charter confirmed,

comitibus, baronibus, prepositis, ballivis, et omnibus amicis et fidelibus suis tam futuris quam presentibus ad quos presens scriptum per venerint, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos dedissemus, concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto et fideli servienti karissimi filii nostri regis et nostro, Chitro, per totam vitam suam, libere, integre, pacifice, et quiete, homines de Beccla et de Corbiac et de Combis et de foresta, possidendos loca ista cum omnibus pertinentiis absque omni calumpnia et contradicte in bona pace possideat et habeat. Volumus igitur et statuimus et precipimus quod nemo prenominato Chitro super hac donatione nostram [iniuriam<sup>3</sup>] molestiam vim seu gravamen inferre presumat. Et si quis hoc faceret, volumus quod statim sine dilatione, audito clamore, emenderet. Quod ut ratum permaneat et inconcussum, presenti carte sigilli nostro robur apposuimus et munimine. Hiis testibus: Domino H[enrico], Xanctonensis episcopo; domino Girardo de Bidon<sup>1</sup>, domino Humberto de For[s] et Rad[ulphus] de Faia, Bocerone Capicerio, militibus nostris; Rogero, capellano nostri; Galfrido de Calviniaco, senescallo nostro; Waltero de Mall[ezais,] Iohanne Franco, servientibus nostris; Willelmo de Sancto Maxento, notario nostro; et multis aliis. Datum apud Burdegalensi anno Incarnatione Verbi M<sup>0</sup>C<sup>0</sup>X<sup>0</sup>C<sup>0</sup>IX<sup>0</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Obliterated by a hole in the MS. parchment.

to the dear and faithful servant of our most cherished son the king<sup>1</sup> and ourselves, Chitrus, that he may possess and have provisionally for all his life, freely, wholly, peacefully and quietly, the men of Begles and of ?Corbie and La Combe and of the forest, possessing those places with all their appurtenances and without all dispute and opposition. Therefore we wish, decree and instruct that no one may presume without cause to bring forward a claim or accusation forcibly to the above-mentioned Chitrus over this gift. And if anyone does this, we wish that, the claim having been heard, it be corrected immediately without delay. In order that this may remain ratified and unbroken, we append to the present charter the strength and defence of our seal. The witnesses to these things: The lord Henry, bishop of Saintes; the lord Girard of "Bidon'", the lord Humbert of Fors and Ralph of Faye and "Bocerone Capicerius," our knights; Roger, our chaplain; Geoffrey of Chauvigny, our seneschal; Walter of Maillé; John "Franco," our servants; William of Saint Maxent, our notary; and many others. Dated at Bordeaux in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199.

No. 65.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: A French translation only is available in: (Abbé) Cirot de la Ville, Histoire de l'abbaye et congrégation de

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<sup>1</sup>Richard.



Notre-Dame de la Grande-Sauve, ordre de Saint-Benoit, en  
Guyenne (2 vols.; Paris: Mequignon, 1844-1845), ii.141-143.

Date: 1 July 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Guyenne, countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, viscounts, barons, seneschals, officers of justice, provosts, ministers and to all her faithful and subjects, greetings.

The late King Henry, our most honourable spouse of happy memory, and we ourselves took under our royal protection a long time ago the monastery of La Sauve-Majeure. Now, in the same way as Henry, our son Richard who had succeeded to the crown, being dead since, and God having left us yet in this world, we have been obliged by the needs of our people and for the good of our patrimony to travel in Gascony. We visited during this trip the same monastery of La Sauve, where we had learned through the testimony of persons of quality and worthy of belief and had seen the same with our own eyes, that it is a holy place, both in its head as well as its members, and that it has a great reputation because of their piety and religion. For this reason we have commended to their prayers ourself and the souls of the two kings aforesaid, and in order that our visit may not be profitless to them, we confirm by the present letter all their privileges and we wish that our successors confirm and ratify them. . . . We ratify all these things and we wish that the monks enjoy them freely and peacefully forever, which is why we command to all our seneschals, provosts, and bailiffs present and to come that they maintain and



defend them there, that they observe and make to be observed the liberties, exceptions and immunities inviolate that we and our predecessors have accorded to them, by all our subjects, that they conserve and protect their possessions in any place that they may be situated, and that they do not make to them or suffer to be made any wrong or injury. Given at Bordeaux, the first day of July, 1199.

[Witnesses:] Helie, archbishop of Bordeaux; Henry, bishop of Saintes; Bernard, bishop of Lectoure;<sup>1</sup> Stephen, dean of Bordeaux; Gaston, count of Bigorre and viscount of Béarn;<sup>2</sup> Raymond Bernard of Rouman, the seneschal; Guifard of Didonie; Amauin of Blanquefort; Ayquem William of Lesparre; Peter of La Mothe; Humbert of Fors; Arnold Raymond of Tartas; Ralph of la Haye; Geoffrey Rudel of Blaye; William Seguin of Rions.

No. 66.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: Bordeaux. Archives de la Gironde. H 640, fo. 4-5. Extraits du cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix, Bordeaux. No. 5.

Printed Copy: "Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Bordeaux," Archives historiques de la département de la Gironde, 27(1892), 7-8.

Date: 4 July 1199.

<sup>1</sup> Bernard II (1197-1199).

<sup>2</sup> Gaston VI "les Moncade" (1173-1214).

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normanie, Aquitanie,  
 comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus,  
 vicecomitibus, baronibus, senescallis, prepositis, ballivis, et omni-  
 bus fidelibus suis totius Aquitanie tam presentibus quam futuris,  
 salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod post decessum charissimi  
 filii nostri, regis Ricardus<sup>1</sup> Anglie, venimus apud Burdegalam ibique  
 inspeximus privilegia quibus pater noster et predictus filius noster,  
 rex Ricardus,<sup>1</sup> privilegiaverunt ecclesiam Sancte Crucis Burdegalensis  
 et monachos ibidem Domino et Sancte Crucis servientes. Nos autem pri-  
 vilegia tantorum virorum rata, firma et illibata permanere in perpe-  
 tuum volentes, omnes possessiones et omnia illa que in eisdem privi-  
 legiis continentur expressa presenti scripti testimonio et sigilli  
 nostri auctoritate confirmamus. Nominatim enim confirmamus predictis  
 monachis locum Sancte Crucis et locum Sancti Macharii et ecclesiam  
 Sancti Hilarii de Ortolano et ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Macau et eccl-  
 esiam Sancte Marie de Solaco; istas ecclesias, cum omnibus appenditiis  
 suis in villis, in vineis, in decimis, in pratis, in pascuis, in pis-  
 cationibus, in nemoribus, in viis et servitis, cum omnibus consuetu-  
 dinibus et libertatibus, extra muros civitatis et infra, et cum con-  
 suetudine trium modiorum salis et cum La Poujada et Formentada, quas  
 Guillelmus, dux Aquitanie, pater noster, eis confirmavit, nos similiter  
 predicte ecclesie et monachis ibidem Domino servientibus concedimus et  
 confirmamus. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod ecclesia Sancte

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<sup>1</sup> For Richardus.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, viscounts, barons, seneschals, provosts, bailiffs, and to all her faithful of all Aquitaine both in the present as well as in the future, greetings. Be it known unto you all that after the death of our most cherished son Richard, king of England, we came to Bordeaux and there we inspected the privileges which our father and our aforesaid son, King Richard, granted to the church of Holy Cross of Bordeaux and the monks there serving God and Holy Cross. And wishing the privileges of so many men to remain ratified, firm and unimpaired forever, we confirm by the witness of the present letter and the authority of our seal all possessions and all things which are contained in those privileges expressly. Namely, we confirm to the aforesaid monks the place of Holy Cross and the place of Saint Machar and the church of Saint Hilary of "Ortolano" and the church of Saint Mary of Macau and the church of Saint Mary of Soulac; those churches, with all their appurtenances in towns, vineyards, tithes, meadows, pastures, fishponds, woods, in goods and services, with all customs and liberties, outside the walls of the city and inside, and with the custom of three measures of salt and with La Poujada and Formentada, which William, duke of Aquitaine, our father, confirmed to them, similarly we concede and confirm to the aforesaid church and the monks serving God there. Concerning which we wish and order firmly that the church of Holy Cross may possess those gifts, those it has in the present and will acquire in the future in due form, freely, honourably, wholly and

Crucis istas donationes, quas in presenti habet vel in futurum rationabiliter acquisitura est, libere, honorifice, integre et quiete possideant, sicut tempore antecessorum nostrorum eas melius et liberius possedit. Si quis autem antedictis monachis in redditibus eorum vel libertatibus vel consuetudinibus, iniuriam, damnum, gravamen vel contumeliam fecerit, tam modernis quam posteris, mandamus et obsecramus in Domino quatenus sine dilatione, malefacta eis emendari facias vel districtam iustitiam eis exhibeatis. His testibus: Henrico, Xanctonensi episcopo; Giffaldo de Didona; Himberto de Fort; Rad[ulfo] de Faya; Petro Capicerio; Galfrido de Calvigniaco; Gualtero de Mailli; Ioanne Franco; et aliis multis. Data apud Solacum per manum Rogerii, capellani et notarii nostri, anno Verbi Incarnati millesimo centesimo nonagesimo nono, quarto die Iulii.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, et omnibus presens scriptum inspecturis tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem. Noveritis nos dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse karissimo amico et consanguineo nostro Andree de Calvigniaco et heredibus suis, totum feodum de Sancta

quietly, just as it possessed them on the freest and best terms in the time of our ancestors. Moreover, if anyone may do an injury, damage, oppression or abuse to the aforesaid monks in their rents or liberties or customs, either now or in the future, we order and appeal to God that you make the evildoings to them to be corrected without delay and you show them judicial rigour. The witnesses to these things: Henry, bishop of Saintes; Guifard of Didonie; Humbert of Fors; Ralph of Faye; Peter "Capicerius"; Geoffrey of Chauvigny; Walter of Maillé; John "Franco"; and many others. Dated at Soulac by the hand of Roger, our chaplain and notary, in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199, the fourth day of July.

No. 67.

Original: Paris. Archives Nationales. Layettes du trésor des chartes. J. 628. Angleterre, I, no. 5.

Printed Copy: Alexandre Teulet, Layettes du trésor des chartes (5 vols.; Paris: Plon, 1863-1909), i.208-209.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, and to all who may read the present charter both now as well as in the future, greetings. Be it known that we have given and conceded and by this our present charter confirmed to our most cherished friend and our blood relative Andrew of Chauvigny and his heirs, all the fief of Saint-Sévere, and the

Severa, et homagia et ligamenta predicti feodi, et quicquid ibidem habebamus. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus ut idem Andreas et heredes sui predictum feodum, cum homagiis et ligamentis, habeat et in perpetuum possideat libere, integre, plenarie, honorifice, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Et ut ista donatio nostra firma et illibata futuris temporibus perserveret, eam sigilli nostri munimine et testium subscriptione roboravimus. Hiis testibus: Roberto, comite Legrecestrie;<sup>1</sup> Baduwino, comite Albamarla; Girardo de Fornivalle; Willelmo de Stagno; Galfrido de Cella; Willelmo Marescallo, comite de Penbroc; Hugone de Fontenellis; Willelmo Torpin; Helia de Sancta Severa, qui presens erat et coram omnibus homagium fecit predicto Andree. Data apud Vallem-Rodolii per manum Rogerii, capellani nostri, anno Verbi Incarnati M<sup>0</sup>C<sup>0</sup>X<sup>0</sup>C<sup>0</sup>IX<sup>0</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Legrecestie (T).

tenants and the liege men of the aforesaid fief, and whatever we used to have there. Concerning which we wish and we order firmly that Andrew and his heirs may have the aforesaid fief with the tenants and liege men, and may possess [it] forever freely, wholly, fully and honourably, with all its appurtenances. And in order that this our gift may persist firm and unimpaired to future times, we have strengthened it by the defence and witness of our seal. The witnesses to these things: Robert, earl of Leicester;<sup>1</sup> Baldwin, count of Albermarle; Girard of Fournival; William of Stagno; Geoffrey de la Celle; William Marshall, earl of Pembroke;<sup>2</sup> Hugh of Fontenelles; William Turpin; Helie of Saint-Sévere, who was present and made his homage to the aforesaid Andrew in front of everyone. Dated at Vaudreuil by the hand of Roger, our chaplain, in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199.

No. 68.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1837), 30b.

Date: September 1199.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert "Fitz-Pernel," earl of Leicester (d. 20/21 October 1204). See Powicke, 435.

<sup>2</sup> William Marshall married the heiress to Pembroke, Isabel, in August of 1189. He was born probably in 1146 and died 14 May 1219 (Powicke, 444).

<sup>3</sup> Warren, 80.

A[lienor], Dei gratia regina, etc., omnibus, etc., hanc cartam visuris vel audituris, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et dedisse et presenti carta confirmasse karissimo filio nostro I[ohannis], Dei gratia illustri regi Anglorum, sicut recto heredi nostro, totam Pic- tavim cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et cum tota hereditate et adquis- icione que nos ex aliqua parte vel quocumque iure nos contingunt. Et . . . homagium suum cepimus. Et inter ad eum attornavimus archi- episcopos, episcopos, comitibus, baronibus et milites et universum clerum, . . . tanquam ad rectum heredum nostre et dominum suum, ad faciendi ei homagia fidelitates et servicia et quicquid domino rex suo ligio facere debent. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predictus filius nostri habeat et teneat omnia predicta bene et in pace plenarie et integre sine aliqua diminucione. T[este:] H[ugoni] Bigot.

Alienor, . . . archiepiscopis, comitibus, vicecomiti[bus], barron[ibus], prepositis, ballivis, iustitiis, et omnibus fidelibus

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen, etc., to all, etc.,<sup>1</sup> who may see or hear this charter, greetings. Be it known that we have conceded and given and by the present charter confirmed to our most cherished son John, by the grace of God illustrious king of England, as our true heir, all Poitou with all its appurtenances and with all inheritance and acquisition which affects us from whatever part and whatever right of ours. And . . . we receive his homage. And we depute him to act as attorney among the archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, knights and all the clergy, . . . as to our true heir and their lord, doing to him homage, fealty and service and whatever they ought to make to the liege lord the king. Concerning which we wish and we order firmly that the aforesaid our son may have and hold all of the aforesaid fully and completely without contention and wholly without any diminution. Witness: Hugh Bigod.<sup>2</sup>

No. 69.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Jean Besly, Histoire des comtes de Poictou et ducs de Guyenne (Paris: G. Alliot, 1647), 497-498, preuves.

Date: 1199.

Eleanor, . . .<sup>1</sup> to the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, barons, provosts, bailiffs, justices and all her faithful. For the

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<sup>1</sup> The full protocol is missing.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, d.1221 (Powicke, 439).

suis. Pro salute anime filii mei, Ricardi regis, et mee, ab omni exactione immunem reddidimus villam de Volliaco, tallia, mestiva, distractio  
nem hominum terre, in expeditionibus comitis, et biens,<sup>1</sup> et extorsionibus que fiunt circa Natale Domini occasione oblationum, et aliis multis, per fil[ium] nostrum regem Anglie, Ricardum, et ministeriales eius, prepositum de Mostereo et servientes suos. I.<sup>2</sup> P. Bertin, senescallus; Chalo de Rupeforti; Longus Ogerius; Galfridus de Calviniaco; Savaricus; magister Paulinus; Aimericus de Ressia. Factum est autem hoc anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1199.

Alienor, Dei gracia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, senescallis, prepositis, baillivis, et omnibus Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis, salutem in vero salutari. Noverit

<sup>1</sup> Or biennis (corvée)?

<sup>2</sup> For T(estibus).

good of the soul of my son, King Richard, and myself, we gave immunity from all exaction to the city of Vouillé, from the taille, harvest, distraining of men of the land, escort duty of the count, and goods [tithe], and extortions that were made around Christmastime on the occasion of gift-giving, and many others, by our son Richard, king of England, and his ministers, the provost of "Mostereo" and his servants. Witnesses: Peter Bertin, the seneschal; Châlon of Rochefort; Laon Ogier; Geoffrey of Chauvigny; Savary; master Paulinus; Amaury of Rex. This was done this year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1199.

No. 70.

Original: Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Poitiers, no. 9.<sup>1</sup>

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 337-338.

Date: Between 8 November 1199 and 29 January 1200.<sup>2</sup>

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, viscounts, barons, seneschals, provosts, bailiffs, and to all sons of Holy Mother Church, greetings in the true Saviour. Be it

<sup>1</sup> Marchegay, 337.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey de la Celle was seneschal of Poitou by 8 November 1199; by 29 January 1200 Ralph of Mauléon was the seneschal. Geoffrey was reappointed 22 February 1200. See Richardson, EHR, 212, for a discussion of this point.

universitas vestra quod nos, pro salute anime nostre et venerabilis  
viri nostri pie recordationis, Henrici Regis, et bone memorie Regis  
Henrici filii nostri, et potentis viri Regis Ricardi ceterorumque  
filiorum ac filiarum nostrarum, dedimus et concessimus cum assensu et  
voluntate karissimi filii nostri Iohannis, illustris regis Anglie, Deo  
et Beate Marie et sanctimonialibus Fontis Ebraldi, ad faciendum anni-  
versarium nostrum et predictorum filiorum nostrorum, centum libras  
Pictavenses, percipiendas singulis annis in prepositura nostra de  
Olerone, de primo proventu antequam rex vel principes vel aliquis  
alius quicquam inde percipiat, videlicet, ad festum Sancti Iohannis  
Baptiste quinquaginta libras, et ad Nathale Domini alias .L. libras,  
sine contradictione, dilatione, omni occasione cessante. Ut autem  
donatio ista firma et stabilis in perpetuum perseveret, scripto eam  
commendari et sigilli nostri munimine fecimus roborari. Testibus  
hiis: Bartholomeo, Turonensi archiepiscopo; Helya, Burdegalensi  
archiepiscopo; Mauritio, Pictavensi episcopo; Henrico, Sanctonensi  
episcopo; Willelmo de Rupibus, senescallo Andegavie; Gaufrido de Cella,  
senescallo Pictavie; Brandino, senescallo Gasconie; Petro Bertini;  
Petro Foscher; et multis aliis. Datum per manum Willelmi de Sancto  
Maxentio, clerici nostri, apud Fontem Ebraudi anno Incarnati Verbi  
millesimo C<sup>o</sup>LXXXX<sup>o</sup> nono, anno regni Regis Iohannis primo.

known to you all that, for the welfare of our soul and of our venerable husband of pious memory King Henry, and the good memory of King Henry our son,<sup>1</sup> and of the capable man King Richard and of our other sons and daughters, we gave and conceded with the assent and wish of our most cherished son John, illustrious king of England, to God and to Blessed Mary and to the holy nuns of Fontevrault, to the making of an anniversary of ourselves and of our aforesaid sons, one hundred pounds Poitevin, to be collected each year in our provostship of Oléron, concerning which it may collect first proceeding before the king or the prince or any other, namely, at the feast of Saint John the Baptist fifty pounds, and at the Nativity of the Lord another fifty pounds, without contradiction, delay or being remiss on any occasion. Moreover, in order that this gift may persist firm and stable forever, we made it to be commended to this writing and to be strengthened by the defence of our seal. The witnesses to these things: Bartholomew, archbishop of Tours;<sup>2</sup> Helie, archbishop of Bordeaux; Maurice, bishop of Poitiers; Henry, bishop of Saintes; William des Roches, seneschal of Anjou; Goeffrey de la Celle, seneschal of Poitou; Brandin, seneschal of Gascony; Peter Bertin; Peter Foucher; and many others. Dated by the hand of William of Saint Maxent, our clerk, at Fontevrault in the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1199, in the first year of the reign of King John.

<sup>1</sup>Henry the young king (d.1183).

<sup>2</sup>Bartholomew of Vendôme (1174-d.15 October 1206).

Alyenor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, dilectis suis prepositis, ballivis, iusticiariis et aliis fidelibus suis et omnibus presentem cartam inspecturis vel audituris, salutem in Domino perpetuam. Universitati vestre notum fieri volumus nos, respectum habentes ad multa gravamina que per karissimum filium nostrum Richardum, quondam regem Anglie, monasterio Sancti Maxentii cognovimus irrogata, ob salutem anime nostre et parentum nostrorum et predicti filii nostri et successorum nostrorum, de consensu etiam et voluntate Iohannis, regis Anglie, filii nostri, ad instanciam et peticionem dilecti in Christi Mauricii, Picavensis episcopi, abbatem et monachos Sancti Maxentii de procuratione quam nobis faciebant apud Sanctum Maxentium penitus quiptasses et clamasse in perpetuum liberos et inmunes, tali modo quod abbas et fratres dicti monasterii nec nobis nec successoribus nostris seu ballivis nostris nec aliquibus ex nostris procurationem aliquam decetero reddere tenebuntur. Dedimus etiam abbati et fratribus supra-

No. 71.

Original: Location unknown.

Copy: Poitiers. Bibliothèque. Collection de Dom Fonteneau,  
xvi.113-113v.

Printed Copy: Alfred Richard, "Chartes et documents pour servir à  
l'histoire de Saint Maixent, l'abbaye," Archives historiques du  
Poitou, 18(1887), 16-17.

Date: 6 October 1200.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to her beloved provosts, bailiffs, justiciars and her other faithful and to all seeing or hearing the present charter, greetings in the Lord eternal. We wish to be made known to all of you that, having regard to the many grievances which through our most cherished son Richard, late king of England, we knew to be inflicted on the monastery of Saint Maxent, for the good of our soul and of our relatives and of our aforesaid son and of our successors, with the consent also and wish of John, king of England, our son, at the request and petition of beloved in Christ Maurice, bishop of Poitiers, we have thoroughly quitclaimed forever free and immune the abbot and brothers of the aforesaid monastery of Saint Maxent of the procuration they used to make to us at Saint Maxent, in such a way that the abbot and monks of the said monastery are obliged to give neither to us nor to our successors or our bailiffs or any others of ours, any procuration henceforth. Also

dictis omnia servitia que nobis faciebant forestarii de nemore de  
 Savra, salvo tantum et retento exercitu nostro et expeditione. Verump-  
 tamen abbates et fratres, pro salute anime nostre antecessorum suc-  
 cessorumque nostrorum, qualibet die perpetuis temporibus tres pauperes  
 in refectario pascere tenebuntur, et duas missas in remedio pecca-  
 torum nostrorum nichilominus celebrare. Si quis autem--quod absit--  
 huic nostre donationi et helmosine tam pie facte contradicere pre-  
 sumpserit, eius conatus et mala voluntas non prevaleat et per censuram  
 ecclesiasticam arceatur. Teste me ipsa, apud Fontem Ebraudi, sexta  
 die Octobris, regni filii nostri Iohannis supradicti anno secundo.

[Written on the back:] Quiptacio seu donacio peracta ab  
 Alyenordi, regina Anglie.

Alienors, Dei gratia regina Angelie,<sup>1</sup> ducissa Normannie et  
 Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, dilectis suis prepositis, baillivis,  
 iusticiariis et aliis suis fidelibus ad quos littere iste pervenerint,  
 in perpetuum. Ad universorum notitiam volumus pervenire, quod nos

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<sup>1</sup> For Anglie.

we gave to the abbot and abovesaid brothers all the services which they used to make to us from the forests of the wood of Sèvres, saving and retaining only our military service and escort duty. Nevertheless, the abbots and brothers, for the good of our soul and of our ancestors and successors, will be held to feed three paupers in the refectory every day for all time, and to celebrate no less than two masses for the forgiveness of our sins. Moreover, if anyone--God forbid--might presume to speak against this gift and alms made with such piety, may his effort and evil wish not prevail and may he be prevented through ecclesiastical censure. Witnessed by myself, at Fontevrault, the sixth day of October, in the second year of the reign of our son the abovesaid John.

Quitclaim or gift completed by Eleanor, queen of England.

No. 72.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Alfred Richard, "Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Saint Maixent, l'abbaye," Archives historiques du Poitou, 18(1887), 17-18.

Date: 6 October 1200.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, countess of Anjou, to her beloved provosts, bailiffs, justiciars and her other faithful to whom this letter may reach, forever. We wish notice to reach everyone that, having regard

habentes respectum ad multa gravamina per carissimum filium nostrum Richardum, quondam regem Anglie, monasterio Sancti Maxentii et hominibus eiusdem irrogate, ad petitionem venerabilis patris Mauritii, Pictavensis episcopi, et Martini, predicti monasterii abbatis, cum consensu et voluntate dilecti filii nostri Iohannis, regis Anglie, dedimus et concessimus, pro remedio anime nostre et parentum nostrorum, in perpetuam eleemosinam, Deo et monasterio Sancti Maxentii, ut homines monachorum in burgo Sancti Maxentii constituti et omnes qui in posterum ibidem edificare voluerint et ibidem manere ob reverentiam sanctissimi confessoris, sint liberi et immunes a tallagio et omni alia consuetudine, exercitu et equitatione. Si quis autem quodmodolibet huic nostre donationi et eleemosine contradicere voluerit, eius conatus et mala voluntas non proficiat, et per ecclesiasticam censuram arceatur. Teste me presente, apud Fontem Ebraldi, sexta die Octobris.

[Iohannis, Dei gratia rex Anglie, confirmat supradicta; Helia, archiepiscopo Burdegalensi; Comite Willelmo Marescallo; Radulpho, comite Augi; Gaufrido de la Celle, senescallo Pictavensi; Guillelmo de Mausiaco. Datum per manum Simonis archidiaconi, cancellarii, apud Berbeziellum, undecima die Augusti, regni nostri.]

to the many grievances suffered by the monastery of Saint Maxent and its men through our dearly beloved son, Richard, the late king of England, at the petition of the venerable father Maurice, bishop of Poitiers, and of Martin, the abbot of the aforesaid monastery, with the consent and wish of our beloved son John, king of England, we gave and conceded, for the salvation of our soul and of our relatives, in perpetual alms, to God and to the monastery of Saint Maxent, that the men of the monks being in the town of Saint Maxent and all who in the future might wish to build there and to remain there on account of respect for the most holy confessor, he may be free and immune from the taille and all other custom, military service and escort duty. Moreover, if anyone in any way will have wished to speak against this our gift and alms, may his effort and evil wish have no effect, and may he be prevented by ecclesiastical censure. Witnessed in my presence at Fontevrault, the sixth day of October.

John, by the grace of God king of England, confirms the above-said; witnessed by Helie, archbishop of Bordeaux; Earl William Marshal; Ralph, count of Agen; Geoffrey de la Celle, seneschal of Poitou; William of Mauzé. Dated by the hand of Archdeacon Simon, the chancellor, at Barbizieux, eleventh day of August, our reign.

No. 73.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Foedera, conventiones, literae, . . ., comp. Thomas Rymer (18 vols.; London: A. & J. Churchill, 1704-1726), i.122.

Karissimo filio suo, etc., Iohanni Dei gratia, . . . Alienora,  
 eadem gratia, etc., et Dei benedictione cum sua. Noveritis, karissime  
 fili, quod mandavimus consanguineum vestrum et nostrum, Americum,  
 vicecomitem Thoarc[ensi], ut veniret<sup>1</sup> apud Fontem Ebraudi visitare nos  
 in infirmitate nostra, et venit; unde, Deo gratias, convalescemos  
 melius quam solemus. Preterea sciatis quod ego et fidelis vester,  
 Guido de Diva,<sup>2</sup> tantum ei<sup>3</sup> rogavimus et monstravimus, ut esset omnino  
 in servitio vestro, sicut ipse qui nullam iniuriam vobis fecit nec  
 aliquid de terra vestra iniuste tenuit, ut alii barones vestri Pic-  
 tavie faciunt. Et item ei monstravimus quod magnum pudorem<sup>4</sup> et pec-  
 catum deberet habere, quin patiebatur alios barones vestros inuust<sup>5</sup>  
 dishereditare<sup>6</sup> vos. Ille autem audiebat, et insimul intelligebat  
 verba nostra, et, quod ei ius et rationem diximus, nobis libenter et  
 animo libenti concessit, quod ille et terre et castra sua amodo ad  
 preceptum et voluntatem vestram erunt,<sup>7</sup> quicquid antea fecisset. Et  
 amici sui, et alii, qui terram et castra vestra saisierant<sup>8</sup> sine  
 licentia et voluntate vestra nisi placitum et voluntatem vestra  
 facere et ea que iniuste saisierint,<sup>8</sup> in pace reddere voluerint contra

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<sup>1</sup> venisse (H).      <sup>2</sup>Diva (R).      <sup>3</sup>eum (H).      <sup>4</sup>sudorem (R). .

<sup>5</sup>iniuste (H).      <sup>6</sup>dishereditare (H).      <sup>7</sup>erant (H). .

<sup>8</sup>seisierant (H). .

Also in: Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1837), 102b-103.

Date: 1200.

To her most cherished son John, by the grace of God, etc.,  
 Eleanor, by the same grace, etc.,<sup>1</sup> the blessing of God and of herself.  
 Know, most cherished son, that we ordered your relative and ours,  
 Amaury, viscount of Thouars, to come to Fontevrault to visit us in  
 our infirmity, and he came; whereupon, God be thanked, we regained  
 more strength than we are accustomed to have. Moreover, know that I  
 and your vassal, Guy of Dive, both strongly requested and showed him,  
 that he<sup>2</sup> should be entirely in your service, as he had done you no  
 injury nor held any of your land unjustly, as your other barons of  
 Poitou have. And moreover we pointed out to him that he ought to  
 render many amends and penances,<sup>3</sup> because he was letting your other  
 barons disinherit you unjustly. And he heard it, and agreed he also  
 understood our word, and, what we said right and rational to him, he  
 conceded freely to us and with a cheerful spirit, that he and his  
 lands and castles from now on will be at your command and will, no  
 matter what he might have done before. And unless his friends, and  
 others, who have taken your lands and castles without your will and  
 license want to do your wish and pleasure and peacefully restore  
 those things which they wrongly seized, he will come against them

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<sup>1</sup>The full style of address is lacking.      <sup>2</sup>Amaury.

<sup>3</sup>Or, "to have much sweat and mistakes."

eos cum omni posse suo erit tantum ut saisitus sitis; et amplius, ut frater vester Ricardus, rex Anglie, fuit, die quo laboravit in extremis. Et quia nobis benigne concessit ea que rogavimus, scilicet, quod erit in servitio vestro bene et fideliter contra omnes mortales, ego, que vestra mater sum, et fidelis vester Guido de Dina,<sup>1</sup> manucepimus quod versus eum eritis ut dominus versus legalem hominem suum existere debet; et ego et fidelis vester, Guido de Dina,<sup>2</sup> plegii sumus quod faciet quicquid vobis mandamus et littere<sup>3</sup> sue quas vobis mittit. Rogamus igitur nos<sup>4</sup> attentius et salubriter monemus quatinus, salvis negotiis vestris in Anglia, ad partes Normannie festinetis transfertare, et omnem voluntatem vestram nobis et predicto vicecomiti Thoarc[ensi] significare velitis; quia, ut prediximus, ipse paratus est adquiescere in omnibus mandato vestro et voluntati, et ad mandatum vestrum ad vos accedere in Angliam sive in Normanniam, aut ubi- cumque vestre placuerit voluntati, et adventum vestrum multum<sup>5</sup> desi- derat. Ad hec autem audienda et facienda interfuit fidelis vester Guido de Dina,<sup>6</sup> constabularius de Alvernia.<sup>7</sup> Teste meipso<sup>8</sup> eodem Guidone apud Fontem Ebraudi.

<sup>1</sup>Gwido de Diva (H).      <sup>2</sup>G. de Diva (H).      <sup>3</sup>littere (H).

<sup>4</sup>vos (H).      <sup>5</sup>plurimum (H).      <sup>6</sup>Guido de Diva (H).

<sup>7</sup>Dhinum (H).      <sup>8</sup>meipsa et (H).

with all his power so that you might be in possession; and what is more, as your brother Richard, king of England, was [in possession] on the day he breathed his last. And because he<sup>1</sup> agreed generously to what we asked, namely, that he will be good and faithful in your service against all men, I, who am your mother, and your vassal Guy of Dive, undertook that you will be toward him as a lord ought to be to his liegeman; and I, and your vassal Guy of Dive, are pledges that he will do whatever we command in your name and has letters which he sends to you. Therefore we ask and advise carefully and beneficially that, saving your business in England, you hurry to cross to parts of Normandy, and you may wish to indicate all your desires to us and to the aforesaid viscount of Thouars; because, as we said before, he is prepared to be content with your order and wish in everything, and at your order to approach you in England or in Normandy, or wherever it will please your will, and he had much desired your arrival. And your liegeman Guy of Dive, constable of Auvergne, was present at the hearing and making of this letter. Witnessed by myself and the same Guy at Fontevrault.

No. 74.

Copy: Poitiers. Bibliothèque. Collection de Dom Fonteneau,  
xxiv.79.

Printed Copy: Jean Besly, Histoire des comtes de Poictou et ducs de

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<sup>1</sup> Amaury.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in vero salutari. Noverit universitas vestra quod, nos intuitu obsequii<sup>1</sup> nobis et filio nostro bone memorie, Regis Richardo, fideliter impensi, concessimus et dedimus Reginaldo de Marin<sup>1</sup> et successoribus suis vel quibuscumque relinquere voluerit, furnum unum in platea que dicitur Trium Furnorum.<sup>2</sup> Hoc autem donum ei<sup>3</sup> fecimus et successoribus suis habendum et tenendum de nobis et successoribus nostris libere, quiete et pacifice, sine qualibet exactione.<sup>4</sup> Hominibus vero ad furnum suam frequentantibus pro fornagio<sup>5</sup> libertatem dedimus de talliis et exactionibus<sup>6</sup> et omnibus malis consuetudinibus. Ut autem hec nostra concessio et donatio robur habeat perpetuum, eam<sup>7</sup> sigilli nostri appositione corroboravimus. His testibus: Radulpho de Faia; Willelmo Vigerio; Capicerio de Calviniaco, milite domine regine; Senoreto, maiore Pictavis; Ioscelino, Ranulpho, capellanis<sup>8</sup> regine; magistro Richardo; domino Drogone de Bernazai, et Drocone capellano ipsius; et Henrico, clericu domini episcopi Pictavensis; et Ioanne de Stagnia;<sup>9</sup> et Willelmo; Ioseph, scriptore; et multis aliis.

<sup>1</sup>obsequenti (B).      <sup>2</sup>Funorum (B).      <sup>3</sup>et (B).

<sup>4</sup>exactione (B).      <sup>5</sup>For fornacio (baking)?      <sup>6</sup>exactionibus (B).

<sup>7</sup>eandem (B).      <sup>8</sup>Ranulfo capellani (B).      <sup>9</sup>Plagina (B).

Guyenne (Paris: G. Alliot, 1647), 497, preuves.

Date: 1203.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to all who may read this present letter, greetings in the true Saviour. Be it known to you all that, having seen the services to us and to our son of happy memory, King Richard, faithfully expended, we conceded and gave to Reginald of Morin and his successors or whomever he will wish to give [it] to, one bakeoven in the street which is called the Three Ovens. And we made this gift to him and his successors freely, quietly, and peacefully, without any tax. To all men frequenting his bakery for baking we gave freedom from tolls and taxes and all bad customs. Moreover, in order that this our concession and gift may have perpetual force, we strengthened it by the apposition of our seal. The witnesses to these things: Ralph of Faye; William Vigier; "Capicerius" of Chauvigny, knight of the lady queen; "Senoreto," mayor of Poitiers; Joscelin, Ralph, chaplains of the queen; master Richard; the lord "Drogone" of Bernazai, and "Drocone" his chaplain; and Henry, clerk of the lord bishop of Poitiers; and John of Stagno; and William [of Stagno]; Joseph, the scribe; and many others. This was made in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1203.

No. 75.

Original: Location unknown.

Printed Copy: Antoine René Hyacinthe Thibaudeau, Histoire du Poitou

Factum est hoc anno ab Incarnatione Domini, millesimo ducentesimo tertio.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie et Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, universis ad quos presens scriptura per venerit, salutem in salutis auctore. Noverit universitas vestra quod nos concessimus quod burgenses nostri de Niorto faciant et habeant communiam in villa sua de Niorto, cum omnibus libertatis et liberis consuetudinibus suis ad communiam suam pertinentibus, salvo iure ecclesie Dei et nostro. Et ut hec nostra concessio robur habeat irrevocabile, sigilli nostri appositione communivimus. His testibus: Radulpho de Faya; Radulpho, Iocelino, capellanis nostris; Capicerio de Calviniaco; magistro Richardo, clericu; et Galfrido, clericu nostro de camera; et multis aliis. Actum anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo ducentesimo tertio, regnibus Philippo rege Francorum, et Iohanne rege Anglie.

(3 vols.; Niort: Robin, 1839-1840), ii.419.

Date: 1203.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, countess of Anjou, to all whom this letter may reach, greetings in the author of salvation. Be it known to you all that we have conceded that our burgesses of Niort may make and have a commune in their town of Niort, with all their liberties and free customs pertaining to their commune, saving the rights of God's church and of ourselves. And in order that this our gift may have irrevocable strength, we have ordered the apposition of our seal. The witnesses to these things: Ralph of Faye; Ralph and Joscelin, our chaplains; "Capicerius" of Chauvigny; master Richard, the clerk; and Geoffrey, our clerk of the treasury; and many others. Made in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1203, Philip reigning king of the Franks, and John king of England.

No. 76.

Original: Fontevrault. Ile d'Oléron, sac 1, no. 2.<sup>1</sup>

Printed Copy: Paul Marchegay, "Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 19(1858), 338-339.

Date: 1204?

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<sup>1</sup> Marchegay, 338.

Alienor, Dei gratia regina Anglie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie, comitissa Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, senescallo Pictavie et probis hominibus de Olerone et omnibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem. Noverit universitas vestre quod dedimus et concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus pro salute anime nostre, dilecte alumpne nostre Alize, priorisse Fontis Ebraudi, decem libras Pictavensis monete annui redditus, singulis annis percipiendas de redditibus prepositure nostre Oleronis ad festum Sancti Micahelis. Ita quod, quicumque sit prepositus Oleronis, ei predictas decem libras sine aliqua difficultate, bene et pacifice singulis annis reddat. Post decepsum vero predicte priorisse, volumus et statuimus firmiter quod conventus Fontis Ebraudi habeat et percipiat in perpetuum predictas decem libras annuatim, ad anniversarium predicte priorisse faciendum. Et ut hec donatio nostra robur habeat perpetuum, eam sigillo nostro communivimus. Hiis testibus: Helia, Burdegalensi archiepiscopo; M., Pictavensi episcopo; Roberto de Torneham, senescallo Pictavie; M., abbatissa Fontis Ebraudi; A., ducissa Borbonie; M., comitissa Tornodori; Radulfo de Faia; Willelmo de Faia; Hamelino de Brolio; Soroneto, maiore Pictavis; Galfrido de Cavinaco; magistro Ricardo, clero nostro; Savarico iuniore; Rogero, capellano nostro. Data per manum ipsius apud Pictavim.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, to the seneschal of Poitou and to the upright men of Oléron and to all to whom the present charter may come both in the present as well as the future, greetings. Be it known to you all that we gave and conceded and by this our present charter confirmed for the welfare of our soul, to our dear sister Alice, prioress of Fontevrault, a rent of ten pounds in Poitevin money annually, to be collected each year from the rents of our provostship of Oléron at the feast of Saint Michael. Therefore, whoever the provost of Oléron may be, he may give to her the aforesaid ten pounds, without any difficulty, provisionally each year. After the decease of the aforesaid prioress, we wish and decree firmly that the convent of Fontevrault may have and collect forever the aforesaid ten pounds annually, to the making of the anniversary of the aforesaid prioress. And in order that this our gift may have perpetual force, we fortified it with our seal. The witnesses to these things: Helie, archbishop of Bordeaux; M[aurice], bishop of Poitiers; Robert of Thornham, seneschal of Poitou; M[atilda], abbess of Fontevrault; A[lix], duchess of Bourbon; M[arie], countess of Tonnerre; Ralph of Faye; William of Faye; Hamelin of Breuil; "Senoreto," mayor of Poitiers; Geoffrey of Chauvigny; master Richard, our clerk; Savary the younger; Roger, our chaplain. Dated by his hand at Poitiers.

A[lienor], Dei gratia regina Anglorum et ducissa Normanorum et Aquitanorum, et comitissa Andegavorum, prepositis omnibus de terra sua et suis servientibus, salutem. Mando vobis et firmissime precipio ut inmunitatem quam pater meus dedit ecclesie Sabluncellensi et ecclesie de Fonte Comitis et locis ad easdem ecclesias pertinentibus per totam terram suam illibatam servetis, ut videlicet invendendo sua vel emendo aliena neque pedagia neque alias eos ?dupnas seu exactiones aliquas de rebus illorum fraudulenter sive violenter vel furtive arripuerit, ubicumque invenerint, seu in via sive in civitate aliqua vel in quocumque alio loco, gerete ac sine contradictione accipient. Et sint immunes ab omnibus his, sicut a patre meo illum concessum fuisse et ipsius scripto firmatum esse dinoscitur. Specialiter autem preposito Pictav[ensi] mando et firmissime precipio quatinus elemosinam illam quam Willelmus Bullo predicte ecclesie Fontis Comitis fraudulenter abstulerat, de qua, etiam iam dictam ecclesiam iudicio curie filii mei regis et burgencium et clericorum civitatis, constat esse investitam eidem ecclesie, intactam, inconcussum, et inviolatam conservetis. Si autem aliquis iam dictam ecclesiam super memorata elemosina de

Original: Poitiers. Archives de la Vienne. Originale, no. 12.

Date: ?1189-1204.

Eleanor, by the grace of God queen of England and duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to all provosts of her lands and her servants, greetings. I command you and firmly order that you observe without diminution the immunity which my father gave to the church of Sablonceaux and the church of Fontaine-le-Comte and the places pertaining to those churches through all his land, so that namely from their selling or buying you will neither take nor demand goods or the toll paid by travellers or "?dupnas" of them or any other exactions. And if anyone seizes any of their goods fraudulently or violently or stealthily, they may arrest them wherever they find them, whether on the road or in the city or in whatsoever other place, carrying it out without limitation. And they may be immune from all these things, as it is known to have been conceded by my father and to be affirmed in writing. And specially I order and firmly direct the provost of Poitiers that you maintain intact, undisturbed and inviolate the alms which William "Bullo" fraudulently stole from that aforesaid church, with which, by the judgment of the court of my son the king<sup>1</sup> and of the burgesses and clergy of the city, it is manifest that the church already mentioned is invested. Moreover, if anyone might presume to trouble the aforesaid church over the mentioned alms

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<sup>1</sup>This could be Richard or John.

cetero molestare presumpserit, precipio vobis ut omne dampnum eidem ecclesie illatum in duplum faciatis emendari. Teste me ipsa apud Pictav[ensi]. Testibus his: R., subdecano Beati P. sedis; Iordano, cancellario meo; I. pinerio; Bartholomeo, capellano; et quampluribus aliis.

henceforth, I order you that you make all injury to that church to be compensated two-fold. Witnessed by myself at Poitiers. The witnesses to these things: R., subdeacon of the see of Saint P.; Jordan, my chancellor; I[ngelran] the butler; Bartholomew, the chaplain; and many others.



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